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APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX B.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 40, note h, for “L’Abbe” read “Labbe.”  
— 42, line 30, for “Fabrum,” read “Patrum.”  
— 46, note v, for “Spelman’s,” read “Spelman.”  
— 57, note, for “seaccarli,” read “seaccarli.”  
— 134, line 13, for “baronies,” read “barons.”  
— 230, line 14, for “suppressions,” read “suppression.”  
— 231, line 24, for “was resolved on,” read “were resolved on.”  
— 314, note v, for “Leb. read “Lel.”  
— 345, for the remarks about the lozenge note.  
— 420, line 20, for “rent,” read “rents.”

## PREFACE.

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HAVING undertaken to give the several orders, founders, dates, and sites of the religious foundations, during the period embraced by this volume ; and not being able, in some few instances, to determine their date, or the order to which they belonged,\* I made up my mind, for the sake of uniformity, not to notice them at all. On that account, some few monasteries will be omitted in Appendix B. However, with this immaterial draw-back, the volume, I hope, will realize all reasonable expectations. For, it gives many interesting points besides those mentioned in the "Prospectus." Moreover, at some extra expense, specimens of music from the Antiphonary of Armagh in the fifteenth century are exhibited. And here it may not be amiss to state, that when in a note to page 343, in reference to music, I quote Conran and Dr. O'Renehan in support of the absence of counter-point and harmony in the Irish Church before the sixteenth century, I have no idea of agreeing to what is added on their authority—that only the lozenge note was known up to, and during the

\* Hib. Dom. insists that some houses, V. G. Cavan, in the confusion of the times, passed from the Dominicans to the Franciscans. Even when the order to which a house belonged was undoubted, the question as to its founder often led to much doubt. Thus the Franciscan Convent of Clonmel was founded by Desmond according to Wadding ; by Grandison according to Ware ; and by Sir John Hackett, according to Liber Munerum. The charters of foundation, of endowment, and of confirmation were often confounded.

## PREFACE.

fifteenth century. Because notes of some three different shapes—and neither of them of the lozenge form—are found in the Antiphonary of Armagh. Conformably to the mottoes prefixed to the title-page, a love of truth and of verifying his quotations has influenced the writer, unremittingly, in the composition of the following pages. A good deal of matter never either published or printed, particularly the registries of Armagh comprising some thirteen or fourteen MS. volumes, will be brought to bear on many points; and in all cases, it is hoped that references to authorities will be found faithfully given. And while references and quotations are adduced with scrupulous fidelity, the author has had nought in view save the interests of truth. So far was he from taking up his pen to support a theory, or system in the obnoxious sense of the word, that he conceived the idea of the present volume, before he read a single line on the subject. What originated the idea in the mind of the author some few years ago, it is bootless now to mention. Suffice it to say that his attention was directed to the Church History of Ireland in the spirit of authorship, before he knew what had been, or could be written on the subject. At once he turned to the early ages of the Irish Church. There he saw the ground, though even yet capable of improvement, occupied by the learned Dr. Lanigan. To make a beginning in continuing and illustrating the series of Irish Church Annals, where he broke off, has been the object of the present work. Whatever views, then, are maintained in the following pages have been the growth, not of any preconceived theory, but of convictions arising out of study, and, if the author knows himself, of unprejudiced reflection.

While the materials for the Civil History of Ireland are pretty copious, those for the Ecclesiastical department—unless directly in reference to Bishops—are very scanty. No wonder, then, that the learned editors of the Camden Society—I believe in the preface to the proceedings against Dame Kitler—complained that the period embraced by the following work was “quite barren of events interesting to the Ecclesiastical



## PREFACE.

Historian." The annals of some convents, indeed, are pretty full and unbroken. But when an effort is made to give a more general interest, a more extensive bearing to facts, which clustered abundantly and interestingly around a particular locality, they become useless elements, and lose their significance. Nor, in dealing with his materials such as they are, has the ecclesiastical the same facility as the Civil Historian in giving picturesqueness to his images. It is not the province of the Church Historian to furnish descriptions of sieges and battles, of defeats or victories, by which the interest of the reader is wound to a pleasurable pitch. Beside his purpose it would be to give pictures of scenery—of nature in her charming aspect or in horrid savageness—in order to the appreciation of events. For, the Church will be viewed under a moral, rather than material, aspect. Again, the writer will rarely have the advantage of enlivening his pages by a minute delineation of character physically, or mentally. So shifting, so violently disjointed was Irish society during the latter half of the middle ages, that the greatest, boldest spirits were unable to impress their age. Individuals were as nothing in presence of the wayward course of things. Men who, in the present age, would affect every particle in the mass of society, then were carried helplessly on by the headlong current of events. Unfortunately, even of those, who came to the surface, in remarkable contrast to their contemporaries, the general features only, not the very lineaments are preserved. They appear before us, rather as flitting shadows than leaping from the canvas. The author, while he has not indulged in the transcendental graceful flight of a dissertator, has not, it is hoped, clogged his march by the mere dull chronicling of an annalist.

Many faults, no doubt, may be found in the following pages. But there was one which, though it may have escaped the correction, did not escape the fond eye of the Author—suddenness of transitions. Under the hourly demands on his time by the ministrations, which necessarily devolve on a curate amidst a scattered population of several thousand

## PREFACE.

inhabitants, it was impossible for him to pen a line of the following sheets by day. Even night, not unfrequently, brought interruptions. Hence, after an interval of several nights, the writer had to strive, not only to get into the same train of thought, but to work himself into the same temperature of feeling as before. From time to time he endeavoured to recast what was struck off in several heats of composition, and fuse it into a consistent whole. But should any flaw be still detected by the stern eye of the critic, for this, as well as other faults, the Author throws himself on the kind indulgence of the reader.

S. M.

*Kilkee,*

*Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1863.*

A

# CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND, &c.

---

## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THOUGH, it is certain, that Christians were in Ireland before Saint Patrick, and though, it is equally certain, that Pagans were in it after his death, yet, the conversion of Ireland, is justly attributed to the Saint's apostleship. Because, though he found it, on the whole, a pagan, he left it, to all intents and purposes, a Christian country. His apostleship to Ireland began in the year 432. His mission was blessed by Rome.<sup>a</sup> The darkness of Paganism overspread the land. But, by his preaching, the darkness was dissipated. He visited the several parts of the country. All flocked to hear him. No people, perhaps, ever appeared so ready, as the Irish, for Christianity. For, without hesitation, without reluctance, but rather with joy, they both abjured their errors, and laid aside their wicked practices.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Lanigan. This learned author shall be oftener followed, than referred to, by me.

While, in most other churches, the seed of the Gospel, was and is watered, with the blood of its missionaries, the Irish Church presents this singular phenomenon, of having been founded without bloodshed, and in peace. On the other hand, if such churches were brought forth, in travail, and sorely tried in infancy,—halcyon days, by and by, came on them. Not so with the Irish Church. Calm and happiness were the portion of its youth ; but, as ages rolled on, they brought trouble and formidable danger.

With considerable success, the Gospel was preached in other countries, before the light of Christianity fully dawned on Ireland : however, few churches in Europe, can aspire to the same antiquity as the Irish Church. Recared, was the first Catholic king of Spain. The conversion of the Franks, may be dated at the conversion of their king, Clovis. Saint Augustine, in the time of Pope Gregory the great, is styled the apostle of the Saxons. But before the time of Recared, Clovis, or of St. Augustine, a glorious hierarchy was established by St. Patrick in Ireland. Nor, after his death, did that hierarchy falter in its glorious career. For two or three centuries, the Irish Church was an object of envy, a model of imitation, to the neighbouring churches.

Bravely decked out, like the bride for the bridegroom, that Church was without wrinkle or spot. The young and old of both sexes displayed a noble emulation in a striving after perfection. Such had been the detachment from the world, that the mountain, the lonely glen, the wood—all quarters of the land were covered with monastic retreats. The contest between brothers and sisters had been, not who would inherit the good things of this world, but who would be first to renounce

its charms. Conventual institutions dotted the country. Famous schools for learning were established.—Such had been Clonmacnois, Bangor, Lismore, and Clonard. Seven thousand students are said to have been, at one time, at the school of Armagh. While, by the invasion of the Goths, and the breaking up of the Western Empire, notes of war through the rest of Europe sounded in the gloom of ignorance, the Irish Church rung with sacred psalmody. The fame of Ireland's learning and sanctity attracted to it, from afar, the pilgrim of science and religion. From Rome, from Egypt, from Gaul, from England, the pilgrims came.<sup>b</sup> They came in no small numbers.—At one time, a hundred and fifty skiffs freighted with pilgrims, touched the shores of Ireland. Food, and raiment, and costly books, were gratuitously supplied to them. And after they had learned all branches of profane science, and the still more sublime science of the Saints, while some returned home, others loved to lay their bones in the Island of Saints—for by such an appellation, Ireland, on the best grounds, was universally recognised.

Nor did the Irish saintly missionaries confine their zeal to the narrow space of the Irish Church. There is scarcely a spot in Europe where zeal and a love of holy adventure did not carry them. In Italy, France, Belgium, Northern Britain, England, along the Rhine, through every part of Germany, in Switzerland, Franconia, Saltzburg, from Iceland to the Mediterranean, the Irish missionaries gained souls to Christ. The torch of science, which had well nigh gone out under the irruption of the Northern barbarians, and the dis-

<sup>b</sup> Litany of Aengus Ceile Dé.

ruption of the Roman Empire, was kindled into a strong and steady blaze in the monastic halls of Ireland. Hence, whenever a difficulty or danger arose to the Universal Church, the talent and virtue of Irishmen were pressed into her service. Did Claudius, a Spaniard, and bishop of Turin, advocate the heresy of Iconoclasm, the Irish Dungall was invited to refute him. Did the vexed question of the famous "Three Chapters" agitate the religious world, the voice of the far-famed Columbanus of Ireland, is clearly heard over the stormy scene, and rings in the ear of even the supreme Pontiff. Hence, too, when Charlemagne was laying the foundation of a great University, he summoned to his aid the talents of accomplished Irishmen. From the fifth to the eighth century, Ireland appeared to realise the glorious vision which St. John in Patmos caught of the Church. But at the close of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the lovely vision disappeared. The irruption of the Danes brought an interruption to sacred offices. The sanctuary flowed with blood—the monasteries were rifled—the towns were burnt—the country was laid waste. For two centuries wave after wave of invasion came down from the north, and buried for a time, works of art, science and religion. Between the Northmen and the Irish there had been a war to the death. Relaxation of discipline, and interruption to the divine offices, consequent on the wars, together with the demoralizing effects of Pagan manners, told seriously against the Irish Church. However, by the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, the power of the invader was broken. The independence of Ireland was secured. Full time was given to the Irish Church to convert those who had been conquered by Irish valour. But though Ireland

had little to fear from further invasions by the Northmen, and had less to fear from those who survived and remained in the country, yet the latter insisted on keeping possession of many of the maritime towns. This circumstance connected for a time a part of the Irish Church with the English Church. Because, the Danes in Ireland claimed kindred with the Northmen, who, coming from Normandy, under William the Conqueror, invaded and subjugated the Saxons.—On that account the Northmen of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, sent their bishops to England to receive consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury. This dependence on, or connexion with England, was put an end to by the Council of Kells, held in 1152. For Dublin was raised to the dignity of an Archiepiscopal See, and the Sees of Waterford and of Limerick were, by legatine authority, subjected to the metropolitical See of Cashel. Instead of co-operating with the Church, in curing disorders naturally resulting from the wars of invasion, the native kings and nobles long perpetuated these disorders. The chief sovereignty, which was not much more than nominal, over the inferior kings and princes, was long and fiercely disputed by several rival families. The election of Dynast or Lord, to the Chieftaincy of a Sept, opened the way to much disunion. During those times of confusion, the See of Armagh was occupied, for 200 years, by one family. Eight persons in succession, of this family, though enjoying the revenues of the primatial See, and taking the name of Archbishops, were married men. Indeed, regularly consecrated persons were procured and hired by them, for the discharge of the episcopal functions. In like manner, the ecclesiastical lands of many monasteries were usurped. Persons, who

were called in to farm or defend the Church lands, or remembering, that such lands were the gift of their devout ancestors, seized and transmitted them as a regular inheritance to their children. The regularity of canonical election was deranged. Simony to some extent prevailed. But though ignorance and a relaxation of morals succeeded to the Danish invasions, yet, such relaxation and ignorance existed only relative to other times. For, in comparison to other Churches, the Irish Church was pure and enlightened. Even in the tenth century, a dark age in many respects, for the Universal Church, Ireland could afford to send teachers to England. Among the several famous seats of learning founded in England by the Irish, Glastonbury was præminent. In the eleventh century, the English, even princes, resorted to Ireland for their education. This boon was the more to be prized, as the English clergy who could read and write were deemed fortunate. So late as the twelfth century, those countries congratulated themselves who could procure Irish teachers and missionaries. Hence, houses were given to them, as elsewhere, at Nuremberg,<sup>c</sup> Wurzburg,<sup>d</sup> Ratisbon,<sup>e</sup> and Vienna.

<sup>c</sup> From 1140 to the year 1418, the Irish held possession of Nuremberg.

<sup>d</sup> Even so late as 1378, the Abbot of Wurzburg claimed jurisdiction over the Abbey of St. Mary's at Ross.

<sup>e</sup> The Monastery of Ratisbon, founded in the first quarter of the twelfth century, continued for many years in the possession solely of the Irish. Frederick II., in the year 1212, confirmed the privileges granted to the Monastery of SS. James and John. He speaks of various kinds of property with which it was endowed.—Eight vineyards, seven mills, four dependant chapels, three fisheries, several forests, and other property belonged to the Monastery of Ratisbon. In 1442, the



No nation in Europe showed a greater tenacity of old customs, or greater veneration for its saints than the Irish nation. On this account, customs or habits which took their rise in variable circumstances, were continued after the circumstances, on which they were founded, had changed.—So it was in reference, as well to the time of holding the Paschal solemnity, as to the tonsure. Agreeably to the cycle used in Gaul and in Rome when St. Patrick came to Ireland, which was the cycle of 84 years, the festival of Easter Sunday, even though it chanced to fall on the fourteenth day of the lunar moon, after the vernal equinox, was celebrated by the saint on that day. On that day too, the Jewish Pasch may chance to have been celebrated. As well to prevent such a coincidence, as because of its greater correctness, the Alexandrine cycle of 19 years was adopted : to this cycle Rome itself conformed. It did not allow the Paschal solemnity to be celebrated either before the 22nd of March, or after the 25th of April. If the old Irish and old Roman customs allowed the solemnity to take place earlier than the 22nd of March, they did not allow it be so late as the 25th of April. But the difficulty was, to bring the Irish to adopt, as Rome had done, the correct Alexandrine computation. A national schism was well nigh the consequence. In the one scale, lay a scrupulous adherence to the teachings of Saint Patrick : in the other, a profound respect for the opinion and practices of Rome. The latter

emperor Sigismund confirmed to it all former grants ; and in his preface to the grant, declares the Monastery to belong to the inhabitants of Ireland (Scotia Major). However, in course of time, except the towers and diamond-shaped pavement, the entire monastery was built anew.

ultimately preponderated. In like manner, a fierce contest raged about the fashion of wearing the hair. St. Patrick recommended to ecclesiastics, the custom of clipping the hair from ear to ear in front, in the form of a semicircle. The form was an indifferent, or rather an edifying symbolism—by and by, it became obnoxious; and so the Roman method of clipping the hair, in a circular form, on the crown of the head, became the rule. Respect for Rome only, made the Irish Ecclesiastics adopt its practice, as well in reference to this tonsure, as to the Paschal computation.

Rome interfered with the discipline of a national Church in the early ages of Christianity, only when it tended to, or savoured of heresy. On that account, down to the twelfth century, Ireland had its peculiar liturgies and offices. These were partly introduced by St. Patrick, and partly added by the illustrious saints of the early Irish Church. However, on the whole, the discipline of the Irish Church as left by St. Patrick, remained as if in a cast-iron state. Our national Apostle, with a turn of mind, as practical, as holy, moulded every thing that was variable in the discipline and economy of the church, according to the circumstances of the age and the country. But, what *he* did from necessity, or mere choice, his simple followers put down to deep wisdom or heavenly inspiration; even a change which evidently advanced the accidental glory of God, was shunned as a heresy. Such had been the respect for the great Apostle by his child-like disciples, that their churches seldom equalled, and never exceeded, in size, the church which he built at Armagh.<sup>†</sup> As, in all

<sup>†</sup> Petrie's Round Towers.

parts of the early Christian Church, so too, in the Irish Church, every village had its own Bishop. By degrees, year after year, the several parts of the country were gained to the fold of Christ. But, when, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the care of Parochial Churches was committed to priests alone (subject of course to the superintendence and correction of the bishops), and not to bishops only, as originally, a new distribution of dioceses took place—as a consequence, the number of sees was much lessened ; for reasons, which I assigned already, the process of consolidation did not take place in the Irish Church. There had been a scrupulous attachment as well to established customs, as to an apostolic simplicity of manners ; even in the twelfth century, one of the Irish Bishops, who is said to have attended at the third general council of Lateran,<sup>a</sup> had no support, save what was derived from the milk of a few cows. Another impediment, in the way of consolidating dioceses in the Irish Church, arose from the fact, that the contemporaneous dynasts had not the wish, and that the supreme monarch had not, often, the power to bring about an union of sees. On that account, even in the latter half of the twelfth century, some 60 independent dioceses existed in Ireland.<sup>b</sup> Attached as the Irish Church

<sup>a</sup> Primate Gelasius, who is represented as accompanied by a cow, or two, on whose milk solely he lived, is not given amongst the Bishops who attended the Council of Lateran. Fleury, by saying, that one of the attending Irish Bishops lived exclusively on the milk of a cow, implies the presence of Gelasius at the Council.

<sup>b</sup> A Roman provincial gives a list of sees, as they existed after the Synod of Kells, held in 1152. Armagh,—and under it are given, Connorensis, Deconnannas, Dedamlialiaagg, Dedundaletglass, Deardanliad, Dedarrich, Ingundunum, Deralhboth, Dunensis, or Dromorensis, Eluamirana, al Midensis, Delathlurig, Renensis, or Renelensis, or

was, to an order of things sanctioned and instituted by its saintly founders, yet several times it took steps to reduce the multiplication of small sees : so early as about 1118, the Synod at Rathbreasail decreed, that the number of sees in the Irish Church, should be reduced to twenty-six. Afterwards, but before the Anglo-Norman set a foot in Ireland, the Synod of Kells in 1152 decreed,

Crocorensis, Cluanensis, or Cluanerdensis, Rochinonensis, or Rathbothensis, Artagadonensis, or Ardacadensis, Ceneversis, Hengamensis. Under Cashel were placed, as Suffragan Sees, Decendalensis, or Lao-nensis, Derostreensis, or Wldifordianus, Deartifertensis, Luench, Lismorensis, Fennaborensis, or Fymbarensis, De Insula, Deduanomensis, or Cluanensis, Landensis, Carthax, Tubricensis, Decellinibrach, Deconeagia, or Corcagiensis, Ardfertensis, Demilech, or Umblicensis, Derosailithir, Waterfordiensis. Under Tuam, were—Derinageonensis, Achadensis, Nelfinensis, Decellaia, Deconairi, Encdunensis, Roscommon, Decelmundaiaich, Chartifertensis, Deculuanferd, Duacensis, Bladensis. Under Dublin were placed, Glendalicensis, Caldetensis, or Kiscarensis, Glensis, or Glensonensis, Ossiniensis, Darensis, Gaininch, Licelinensis.

A list of sees, according to Camden, follows. Under Armagh, were Meath, or Elnamiraad, Dunensis, or Dundaletglass, Colchorensis, or Lugundunensis, Connorensis, Ardachadensis, Rathlucensis, Dalu-liguiensis, Dearrihensis. Under Dublin, were, Glendalicensis, Fernensis, Ossiriensis, or de Canice, Lechniniensis, Kildarensis. Under Cashel, were, Laonensis, de Kindalnam, Limericensis, De Insula Gathay, de Cellumbrath, Melicensis, or de Emeleth, Rossiensis, or Roscreensis, Waterfordiensis al de Batilfordian, Lismorensis, Clonensis, or de Cluanania, Coreagiensis, De Rosalither, Ardfertensis. Under Tuam, were, Duatensis, or Kilmaeduae, De Magio, Enachdemensis, De Cellaiairo, De Roscommon, Clonfertensis, Achadensis, Ludensis, or Killaleth, De Conany, De Kilmunduach, and Elphinensis.

Bingham, B. 9, ch. viii. Schelstrati (vol. II., *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ illustratæ*) gives 60 sees in Ireland.

Wilkins (vol. I., p. 472) gives, under Armagh, the strange dioceses, Charensis, Thuenensis ; under Cashel, the no less strange sees, Lucap-nearnensis, Aremorensis ; in Leinster, Erupolensis, and in Connaught, Kinfernensis and Aathkourens.

that the number of sees should be fixed at thirty-eight. The decree of course was not to have effect, till the death of some of the then Incumbents. Before the Synod of Kells, at which a papal legate presided, there was only one see, which enjoyed strictly metropolitanical rights. That see was Armagh : for some years, however, before the Synod, the diocese of Cashel was styled a metropolitanical church. It was an honorary title : other sees, too, in the early ages of the Irish Church, as in other parts of the Christian Church, enjoyed an honorary dignity. Such an honor, by the seventh canon of the Council of Nice, did Jerusalem enjoy, saving the rights of the metropolitanical see. Just such a dignity did Sletty and other churches in Ireland enjoy. The dignity was annexed, not to the see, but to the individual. Another peculiarity in the Irish Church in comparatively late times, was, that not only the metropolitanical, but even the episcopal dignity of a church depended on an accident. Thus, a few years previous to the invasion by the English, O'Brolchan is mentioned by the annals as the first Bishop of Derry.<sup>1</sup> Beyond

<sup>1</sup> Derry, as the seat of the famous St. Columba, enjoyed a valuable privilege. It received a tribute, which went under the name of St. Columbkille's ; as that which Armagh received was called St. Patrick's. In the year 1150 O'Brolchan, as successor to St. Columbkille, made a visitation in Tyrone. He obtained a horse from every chieftain, a cow from two Biatacha, a cow from every three free tenants, a cow from four villeins, twenty cows from the king himself, and a gold ring of five ounces in weight, with his horse and battle dress, from the son of O'Lochnan, King of Ireland. In 1153, on visiting Down and Antrim, he obtained a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, a screabhall (it was three pence, O'Reilly's Irish Dict.), a horse, and five cows, from the prince O'Dunslebthe, and an ounce of gold from his wife. In 1161, on visiting Ossory, O'Brolchan accepted, instead of 140 oxen due to him, 420 ounces of pure silver.

question, however, the same annals, in the years 927, 937, and 968, speak of an existing diocese of Derry ; the inference is, that the episcopal dignity, though lost, was resumed by Derry. Finally, as a peculiarity in the Irish Church, it may be noticed, that down to the twelfth century, the offices of abbot and bishop were sometimes united in one person.

Another point of contrast to neighbouring churches, in the Irish Church, was its use, down to the twelfth century, of a national liturgy, and of peculiar offices ; the most ancient and renowned churches afforded a precedent for this custom. At Alexandria was used the liturgy, under the name of St. Marc ; at Antioch, that under the name of St. Peter ; at Jerusalem, that under the name of St. James ; and at Constantinople was used the liturgy, which went under the name of St. Chrysostom. In the Western Church likewise, the four famous churches, Rome, Milan, Spain, and France, had, respectively, the Roman, Ambrosian, Mosarabic and Gallican liturgies. As either may have been used indifferently, at the time of St. Patrick, he carried with him to Ireland, the liturgy with which, from youth, he had been familiar. That liturgy was the Gallican. And the Gallican partook more of the nature of the oriental, than the Roman liturgy. Because the most famous early preachers in Gaul, Saints Irenæus, Pothinus of Lyons, Trophimus of Arles, Saturninus of Toulouse, were oriental. But it was not the *use* of a national liturgy, so much as its continuation down to the twelfth century, which formed a peculiarity in the Irish Church. Nor was this all : the second and third classes of Irish Saints, as known to Hagiographers, were divided into several congregations. Each congregation had its own

peculiar liturgy and office. This variety of liturgies and offices, continued to the time, in which Gillibert was appointed legate in Ireland. In the first years of the twelfth century, he endeavoured to bring the various Irish offices into harmony with the Roman. He may have succeeded to some extent, but that he did not *altogether* succeed, appears from a decree made in 1172 at Cashel.

It would have been a fortunate thing, even for the temporal interests of Ireland, if some one royal family could challenge the allegiance of the country. And it would have been doubly fortunate for it, if the monarchy were not elective. Thus, much blood might have been spared ; and the energies of the people may have been directed, to the promotion of the arts of peace and civilization. Then, it may have been expected in process of time,<sup>j</sup> as happened to other nations, that some bold sovereign would break the power of independent chiefs or princes ; and asserting the majesty of a common law, would have his just fiat bowed to, even by the proudest. As it was, however, a number of petty jealous and independent princes, warred with each other. Even so late as 1215, as a matter of right, the title of kings was assumed, “ by O’Neil of Yncheun, by M’Dunlen of Ultonia, by O’Slin of Cork, by O’Hanlon of Orgial, by M’Karlan of O’Nelich, and by M’Gillimore of Anderkin.”<sup>k</sup> Later still, in the time of Richard II., the Anglo-Irish Government felt proud in receiving the homage of seventy-five chieftains. We can then easily imagine the impossibility, of getting all the petty princes, previously to the Anglo-Norman in-

<sup>j</sup> Hallam’s Middle Ages, vol. II.

<sup>k</sup> Letter to Edward I. Rymer, Liber Munerum.

vasion, to unite in procuring uniformity of discipline, or a reduction in the number of the sees. The Ecclesiastics were bound up, in feeling and fortunes, with their chiefs. Hence, between the Ecclesiastics of two different Septs, there may have been as much estrangement, as between the Ecclesiastics of two widely separated kingdoms. The impossibility of working harmony, out of such discordant elements, must have forced itself on the Ecclesiastics. Because, several times, did they endeavour to no purpose, to bring about a reduction of Bishopsrics. Even the Synod of Kells, held at the suggestion of the Pope, and presided over by his legate, thought not of bringing the number of sees, lower than thirty-eight. And this decree, without a strong hand to enforce it, might have proved as inoperative, as former like decrees. But, after the coming of the English, the number of sees, as we are told by Brompton, was brought down to thirty-three.<sup>1</sup> One man, indeed there was, whose voice should have been heard, and action felt through the whole Irish Church—the successor of St. Patrick. But, however, the influence naturally attaching to the See of Armagh, was lessened by the long line of usurpers, who occupied it for more than 200 years. And, during eight successions, the occupiers of the Primatial revenues, as being laymen and married, possessed little more influence than any other petty despot. Occasionally, indeed, as in 1099 and other instances, the Primate made peace between Muchertach and Hy-Niall. More than a dozen of times, during the first half of the twelfth century, did the Church interpose, and fling the olive branch of

<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth century, 33 is the number of dioceses in Ireland, given by Dymock.



peace among contending chiefs and armies. The peace may have been brought about, however, as well by the accident of humour, as interest. Contending parties did not feel the stern necessity of obeying a power, which may not be resisted. The "Staff of Jesus" ceased to inspire that respect or fear, which should attach to the primatial crozier. The Bishop's decree was good in his own district. But beyond that, he spoke, not in the tone of command, but in the accents of entreaty.

Uniformity in discipline, between the several parts of the Irish Church, and between it and Rome, was not the most serious want. In the train of the Danish invasion, and subsequent petty feuds, came gross abuses. Interruption to the divine offices, simony, the usurpation of ecclesiastical revenues, and immorality prevailed. Among the Danish population in Ireland, the immorality sometimes, took an unnatural form. Far am I from saying, that the Irish Church, was in a worse state, than other Churches. But, beyond question, the gold of the sanctuary had been much obscured. A temporary paralysis, not the corruption of death, had seized the Irish Church. The vital spirit was strong within it. Hence, from the beginning, to the middle of the twelfth century, the religious sap, which before had thrown out countless conventual institutions, was not exhausted. The priory of Louth was founded in 1148; the priory of Down in 1138; the priory of Bangor in 1120; the priory of Dungivin, Londonderry, in 1100; the abbey of St. Finbar, near Cork, in 1134; the priory of St. John Baptist, Tuam, in 1140; the Nunnery for Augustinian Canonesses, Dublin, in 1146; the Nunnery of St. Kilken, Kilkenny, in 1151; a religious house of

Athaddy, Carlow, in 1151 ; that of Baltinglass, about 1150 ; the abbey of the B. V. M. at Bectiff, East Meath, about the same time ; that of Shroul, Co. Longford, about 1152 ; the abbey of B. V. Mary, at Mellifont, in 1142 ; that of Nenay, Co. Limerick, about 1150 ; that of Odorney or Kyrie Eleison, in 1157 ; the abbey of Erynagh, or Carrig, in 1127 ; the priory of the B. V. M. at Lisgool, Co. Fermanagh, in 1106 ; that of Ferns in 1158 ; a house at Athlone in 1150 ; the abbey of B. V. M. at Grillechdune, in 1148, and was translated to Boyle in 1161 ; the priory of the Colidæi at Davinish, Co. Fermanagh, in 1106 ; the house for Augustinian Canons there in 1148 ; a house under the invocation of the B. V. M. and St. Patrick, at Newry, in 1157 ;<sup>m</sup> and in 1166, were founded in Dublin, a house for regular Canons, and the priory of all saints. The foundation of these houses had been the development of the religious principle, during the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>n</sup> Their founders were princes and chiefs. And during the same period, a body of holy ecclesiastics comes before us, which may stand a comparison with those, of any other national Church. How redolent of virtue and worth, are the soberest epithets, which the most prosaic chroniclers applied to such ecclesiastics ! There were Patrick O'Banan of Connor, "full of meek-

<sup>m</sup> The foundation charter is dated 1160. It is the only one remaining of the houses founded before the English invasion.—*Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. I.

<sup>n</sup> During the latter half of the same century, Donogh O'Brien, alone, King of Limerick, founded no fewer than a hundred churches and abbeys. Among the latter, Clonroad (cluain namh Fada), near Ennis, maintained, till the Reformation, 600 scholars.—*Mason's Statistical Survey*, vol. I.

ness and sanctity, and cleanness of heart ;" O'Coffey of Derry, " a bright star in learning and charity, powerful in prayer and holy pilgrimage ;" Gregory of Dublin, a " wise man ;" Loneran, Archbishop of Cashel, " a man wise and liberal to the poor ;" Christian, Bishop of Lismore, legate from the holy see, and canonized by English Martyrologists ; Gilla Æda O'Mugin, Bishop of Cork, " sanctified by God alone, and full of God's blessings ;" Nehemias O'Moriertach, who died in 1149, " a plain modest man, excelling all others in wisdom and chastity ;" Thady O'Loneran, Bishop of Killaloe, " a learned and charitable man ;" Ædan O'Hoisin, of Tuam, " celebrated for piety, learning, and liberality ;" O'Ruadan of Achonry, " a man of wisdom, and high reputation ;" blessed Cornelius, whose office, even in the present day, is celebrated in the Church of Savoy ; Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, and his successor St. Malachy, who would illustrate the brightest period of the Church's history. All these, with scarcely an exception, lived before the synod of Kells. Nor must we forget Gelasius, nor his long life of usefulness and labor. Raised to the primacy, he led a life truly Apostolic. He attained, among his contemporaries, the character of pre-eminent sanctity. He lived exclusively, on the milk of a cow, which accompanied him in his travels. He assisted at the synod of Inisfallen in 1148, at that of Kells in 1152, at that of Mellifont in 1157, at that of Clane in 1162 ; he was indefatigable in the visitation, as well of his own diocese, as of the entire national Church ; he visited Connaught four times, and the other provinces. His sanctity obtained a niche, in the calendar of domestic martyrologists. Such men realized to themselves the wounds inflicted on the dis-

cipline of their Church, and they applied themselves to heal them. A spirit of renovating beauty, was passing over the transient deformity of the Church. Hence, Councils, national and provincial, were of frequent occurrence. A national one was held in the year 1111, and another Council at Rathbreasail in 1118. Provincial councils were held in Tuam and Cashel, the former in 1143, the latter in 1134. A synod was held in Holmpatrick in 1148. The synod of Kells, which forms an epoch in Irish Church History, was held in 1152. A Council, attended by 25 Bishops, was held in East Meath, at Brimactigue, in 1158. And in the year 1167, was held a meeting in Athboy, at which good resolutions were decreed. So much so, that, in the words of the annalists, "women unprotected travelled, in safety, through the land." But while things wore a hopeful appearance for the Irish Church, while that Church was steadying itself, after many terrible shocks given by invasion, an event occurred, which threw it back for centuries, and from the effects of which, it has not yet quite recovered. I allude to the English invasion.

## CHAPTER II.

THERE had been a contest, for the sovereignty of Ireland, between O'Connor on one hand, and Melaghlin or O'Neil on the other. Dermot M'Murrough, King of Leinster, invariably sided with the latter. On the death of O'Neil, O'Connor raised himself to the dignity of supreme king. Moreover, M'Murrough, by enormities, which he appeared to have inherited, made himself personally obnoxious.<sup>a</sup> It became his turn to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. He was deposed. In order to restoration to his kingdom, the dethroned king, in 1168, went to England, and thence to Normandy, to beg the aid of Henry II. Though he did not actually promise or send reinforcement to M'Murrough, he recommended him to all his liegemen. Returning through Wales, M'Murrough told the story of his adventures and misfortunes to some Welch adventurers. Among these was Fitzstephen, who promised the service of his sword. M'Murrough comes home and keeps himself quiet in Ferns. In the following

<sup>a</sup> His father, in one year, deprived of life or sight, seventeen dependent princes. He was hated by enemies, and not loved by friends. His hands were against every person; and those of every person were against him.—Cambrensis, Leland, p. 12.

year, 1169, in the month of May,<sup>b</sup> Fitzstephen, accompanied by several hundred brave soldiers, landed at or near Wexford. By and by came his maternal brother, Fitzgerald. And in the following year came Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow. Bloodshed and slaughter followed in their train. Irish prisoners, though only guilty of being caught fighting for the independence of their country, were put to death in cold blood.<sup>c</sup> While the invaders were fighting their way, slowly but successfully, to each stronghold, a synod was held at Armagh. Than the decree emanating from that synod, nothing shows more clearly the spiritual views of the Irish Bishops. They inquire, what might have caused the coming of the English? Like men of faith, true children of their saintly fathers, they viewed it, in a supernatural light. Such a visitation, they maintained, was called down by their sins. Particular stress was laid on a traffic formerly carried on, in English slaves sold without necessity by their parents, and bought by the Irish.<sup>d</sup> The Irish Bishops, in synod, declared as their opinion, that, as the Saxons, by the sale of slaves, brought on themselves the yoke of the Normans, so, the

<sup>b</sup> Ware's Annals. No greater mistake can be, than to suppose, that the abduction of Dervorgilla, wife of O'Rourke, prince of Brefney, by M'Murrough, was the cause of the invasion. M'Murrough applied for aid, because he was dethroned. He was dethroned, not because of the abduction of Dervorgilla, which happened 18 years previously, but because of his opposition to the family of the O'Connor, and of his many outrages. Of course, the abduction of Dervorgilla, was not forgotten by O'Rourke, her husband.

<sup>c</sup> Though a fair sum was offered for their ransom, 70 captives were flung from a steep rock, by Montmorisco. Leland, b. 1, ch. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Even down to the twelfth century, slaves were objects of traffic with the English—See life of St. Auselm by Butler, April.

Irish, by the purchase of slaves, merited a like punishment from the same enemy. Accordingly, every slave through Ireland was declared free.\* Onward, however, marched the invaders. They mastered Wexford, and Waterford. Making their way, through Leinster, they besieged the City of Dublin. Roderick, monarch of Ireland, watched with alarm, the progress of the strangers. Deserted by native princes and discouraged by domestic feuds, he dared not stake the kingdom on the issue of a battle.†

At this time there was one man, to whom the Irish Church and Ireland owe a debt of gratitude, one who endeavoured to raise the siege or obtain favorable terms for the citizens of Dublin. That man was Saint Laurence O'Toole. Lorcan O'Tuathail was born about the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. His mother was of the powerful family of the O'Byrnes. His father's family owned what corresponds to the southern part of Kildare county.‡ His father was at enmity with the cruel Dermot M'Murrough. To the latter, young Lorcan, at the age of ten years, was given as a hostage. From the cruelty of M'Murrough, he suffered much. Lorcan's, or Laurence's father having threatened the life of some soldiers of M'Murrough, unless our

\* Spelman, Harris, Ware's Bishops, p. 60. By the decision of the Irish Bishops, one is reminded of the supernatural views, of the "*gesta Dei per Francos*," in the ages of faith.

† Hanmer, p. 237, says, Roderick distrusting the northern forces dismissed them. Cambrensis Eversus, vol. 2, p. 75, edited for the Celtic Society, says, that the native princes deserted him. On what grounds then, Leland says, that, Roderick was prevented from saving his country by the cowardice of the clergy, I am at a loss to discover.

‡ O'Donovan's Four Masters—According to him, Dr. Lanigan is wrong, in his description of the extent of O'Toole's principality.

young saint were set free, effected his release from M'Murrough. Without delay, the freed captive was placed under the tuition of the Abbot of Glendaloch. From an early age, Laurence shewed an inclination to the ecclesiastical state. He exhibited in his life, under the instruction of the successor of St. Kevin, a bright example of every virtue. At the age of twenty-five, on the death of the successor to St. Kevin, he was appointed to succeed to the Abbacy of Glendaloch. The charities of the saint were unbounded. Having exhausted all that the monastery supplied, he drew on his paternal inheritance. And though, some time before this, his humility refused the Bishopric of Glendaloch, his obedience consented to succeed to the vacant see of Dublin. However, notwithstanding his election in 1161, he could not be prevailed on to receive consecration, till the next year.<sup>b</sup> While princely in his entertainment of others, himself practised the severest austerities. He daily fed hundreds of the poor for many years. He was incessant in prayer; he took the discipline; he was so rigid in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, that, though possessed of faculties himself, he sent for absolution to Rome, 140 incontinent ecclesiastics. He endeavoured to obtain favorable terms for his countrymen while besieged.

In the meantime, a breach was effected. In rushed the besiegers, carrying destruction and death to all quarters. St. Laurence ran about amongst the dying, dragged them from under the heel of the foe, received their confession, and obtained for them decent burial. Like the good shepherd, he exposed himself to danger,

<sup>b</sup> See Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon's interesting life of the Saint.



for the flock committed to his charge. Such was the respect extorted from the enemy, in the insolence of triumph, by his high character, that he succeeded in preserving the sacred books, the vessels, and vestments of the churches. After this, St. Laurence, neither despaired of his country, nor slackened his efforts for its liberation. Employing the great influence, naturally attaching to such a name as his, he prevailed on the surrounding princes to forget their mutual differences, to turn their attention to the shocking outrages and atrocities committed by the strangers, and to unite in blockading Dublin. The consequence was, that the enemy, reduced to sore straits, proposed terms of capitulation. Nothing short of a clear riddance of the invaders from the country would satisfy St. Laurence.<sup>k</sup> However, the careless manner in which the Irish carried on the siege, did them but little credit. The invaders, taking advantage of the neglect of their opponents, and animated by the courage of despair, made a successful sally, cut their way through, and routed the Irish forces. And when, by and by, further resistance appeared useless, St. Laurence spared no pains to gain terms favorable as well to the interests of Ireland, as to the dignity of its last monarch. In order to the fulfilment of those terms, he took many journeys. For this purpose, he attended a Council at Windsor.<sup>l</sup> He introduced, and richly endowed, the regular canons of St. Augustine.<sup>m</sup> While

<sup>k</sup> Leland, p. 58, vol. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Spelman.

<sup>m</sup> With several Churches, he gave the mill, near the bridge, the fish-pond, with tithes of salmon, and all other fish, on either side the water-fall of Analiff.—Records of Christ Church.

attending the council of Lateran in 1179, he so warmly pleaded the cause of country, that, without delay, he was appointed legate to Ireland.<sup>a</sup> All the churches of Dublin, and those of his suffragans, were so taken under the immediate protection of the holy see, that they may not, for the future, be molested by any laic or ecclesiastic. The instrument granting such privileges, and dated on the 12th of the Kalends of May, and on the 12th of the indiction, was levelled as well against the king as the sacrilegious invaders.<sup>o</sup> The king annoyed, either at the privileges granted to the Irish Church, or at the importunity, with which St. Laurence urged the fulfilment of the terms made with King Roderick O Connor, forbad, in 1180, the return of St. Laurence to Ireland. He retired to Eu, in Normandy. Depression of spirits preying on an exhausted frame, produced fever. Having discharged his duty as a churchman and patriot, having practised every virtue, worked miracles, given hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, and life to the dead, he departed this life on a Saturday, November the

<sup>a</sup> Surius Messingham, p. 588.

<sup>o</sup> An indiction is a place, which a year holds, in a cycle of 15 years. The indiction is supposed to have commenced in 312. At least, it was in use at the council of Nice in 325. The Roman indiction began, either on the 25th of December, or on the 1st of January. The Casarean indiction began on the 24th of September. The Constantinopolitan began on the 1st of September. Calculations were founded, sometimes on the former, and sometimes on the latter. *Art de verifier dates*, Cabassutius *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, p. 33. Before the introduction of Arabic numbers, which did not take place till after the 10th century, indictions were useful in fixing dates.—*Philosophical Transactions*, No. 225.

14th, in the year 1180. He was canonized on the 3rd of the Ides<sup>p</sup> of December, 1225,<sup>q</sup> by Honorius III.

Henry the Second, jealous of the power acquired by his subject adventurers in Ireland, and anxious to maintain and improve their conquests made for the last two years, set sail from England, and in October, 1171, landed at Waterford. At Dublin, where several of the native princes came to do him homage, Henry spent the Christmas. In the beginning of the next year, for the purpose of fulfilling the conditions, on which he claimed and received a bull for the invasion of Ireland, from Pope Adrian the Fourth, some fifteen years before,<sup>r</sup> Henry wished to have the bishops convened in synod. And

<sup>p</sup> To know the day of the month, from the bulls and other documents written in Latin, it is necessary to observe, that the month was divided into Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Kalends fell on the first day of the month. The Nones generally fell on the fifth of the month; but in the months of May, March, July, and October, they fell on the 7th of the month. The Ides, in the latter four months, fell on the fifteenth; but generally they fell on the 13th of the month. In calculating, instead of looking forward from the Kalends to the Nones, and from the Nones to the Ides, one counted backwards. Any day, suppose the 5th day of the Kalends, meant the fifth day, *before* the Kalends. Then, in dealing with the Nones and Ides, a person by counting back, and adding 1 to the number, but adding 2 when dealing with the Kalends, found the day of the month—thus, the 3rd of the Ides of December, is 3 days before the Ides; and as the Ides fell on the 13th in December, 1 added, makes them the 14th of December. Three days then subtracted from 14 make 11: so the 11th of December is the 3rd day of the Ides of December.

<sup>q</sup> Usher's Sylloge, Epist. 48. Bullarium Romanum, vol. 2, p. 242. Dr. Lanigan, not wisely following Messingham, quotes the Bullarium for the year 1226. But this Bullarium dates the Canonization at the year 1225.

<sup>r</sup> The bull was granted in 1155; Leland, Ussher, Hanmer: Liber Munerum puts it to 1154.

considering, how comparatively little was to be corrected by the Pope's legate in 1152, at the council of Kells, and what efforts had been made since then in the cause of morality, and of discipline ; the bull will be perused with curiosity, by the reader of the present day. " Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sends greeting, and the apostolic benediction.

" Your magnificence has been careful, and studious, how you may enlarge the Church of God, here on earth, and increase the number of saints and elect in heaven ; in as much as, like a good, Catholic king, you have and do, by all means, labor to enlarge God's church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and by abolishing, and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And, as you crave, for your furtherance, the help of the Apostolic See (wherein you do more speedily and discreetly proceed), we hope God will send you the better success ; for all they, who, from a fervent zeal, and love of religion, begin and undertake any thing, shall, no doubt, in the end, have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands, where Christ is known, and the Christian religion received, it is beyond all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, that they all belong, of right, to St. Peter, and to the Church of Rome.

" And we are the more willing, to sow the acceptable seed of God's word, as we know, that the same will, in the latter days, be most surely required at your hands. Well-beloved son in Christ, you have signified unto us your will, to enter into the land of Ireland, to bring the people to obedience to the law and to you ; and to root from among them, foul sins and wickedness ; as also,

to yield and pay yearly, out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter\* ; and moreover, to defend, and keep inviolate, the rights of the churches. Therefore, approving of this your goodly disposition, and commendable zeal, we do accept and ratify this your petition ; and grant, that for the increasing of God's church, the correction of sin, the increase of the Christian religion, you may enter and possess that land, and there execute, according to your wisdom, whatever shall be for the honor of God, and the safety of the realm. And further, we do strictly charge, and require, that all the people of that land, with an humble dutifulness and reverence, do receive and accept you, as their liege-lord and sovereign ; reserving the right of holy church to be inviolably preserved, also the yearly pension of Peter pence out of every house, which we require to be truly accounted for to St. Peter and the Church of Rome. If, therefore, you intend to bring your goodly purpose into effect, endeavour to reform

\* The value of the denarius, or penny, varied in different ages. The denarius sometimes meant an ounce of silver (Bingham, book 5, chapter iii.) About the time of the Emperor Nero, it was worth nine pence : it was worth seven pence, in the time of Constantine (Paucton metrologie). The pound of silver was coined into 240 pennies—each penny weighed  $22\frac{1}{2}$  troy grains ; twelve of these pennies, weighed 270 grains and passed for a shilling. The silver penny, then, at the invasion of Ireland, was equal to four or five shillings of our money—Henry's History of England. Payment of Peter pence was not unusual in other countries. Charlemagne is said to have ordered a penny from every house in Gaul, to be paid to the Roman Church. So, too, are the Gothic kings said, to have possessed Spain, on condition of paying tribute to the Roman Church (Cambrensis Eversus, vol. 2, p. 349, Celtic Soc. ed.) Peter pence were paid in Poland and Bohemia. For the various kinds of denarius, see Du Cange, sub voce.

the people, to some better order and trade of life, as well by yourself, as by such others as you shall think meet, true and honest in lives, manner, and conversation : to the end, the Church of God may be beautified, the Christian religion sown and established, and that all things be done to God's honor, and to the salvation of souls. By these means, you may receive in the end, from God's hand, the reward of everlasting life ; and in the meantime, in this life, you may bear a glorious name and renown among all nations." †

This remarkable document bears not only on the Irish Church, but even on all mediæval society. That the Popes claimed the power of disposing of kingdoms, and actually exercised the power to the best interests of society, without adding to their own dominions, is one of the best established facts in history.‡

The exercise of such power comes before us, in reference to the kingdoms of Germany, of France, of England, and of Ireland. On what principles, this power was exercised, even with regard to the Irish Church, historians do not agree among themselves. Some base it, on the supposed donation of Constantine.† Some too, attribute it to the right divine claimed for Popes, of disposing of all the kingdoms of the earth.

† Bullarium Romanum-Coqueline, p. 351, Cherubini—Matthew Paris, (*Historia Major*). Usher *Epist.* 46 *Sylloge*.

‡ See Voight's *History of Gregory VII.*—Hurter's *life of Innocent III.* De Maistre on the Pope ; Gosselin "on the power of the Pope during the middle ages." Though I am indebted to the last, for many interesting facts, I cannot come to the same conclusion with him, from these facts, especially in reference to the bull of Adrian IV.

† Natales Alexander, and Baronius in the *Critica of Pagi*, with many other Catholic historians, have proved the donation by Constantine to the Popes, of all the kingdoms of the West, to be a fiction.

Others account for the exercise of such authority in the Roman Pontiff, not by the *direct*, but by the *indirect* temporal power, which belonged to them by divine right. By such indirect power, the Popes could interfere in the kingdoms of this world, only where God's glory, or the salvation of souls required interference. Then, the theory, which claimed for the Popes a directive power, had many supporters. According to the supporters of this theory, the Pope stands, somehow, in the same relation to all Christendom, in which a Bishop in a diocese stood to his people. And as the Bishop may be supposed, in all cases of conscience, in all matters affecting morality, to have been consulted and listened to, so was the Pope consulted by the Christian world. Hence, according to them, the extraordinary power of the Popes. Very many writers explain the Papal power, by the constitutional law of the times. By this constitutional law, there was an implied compact, between the princes and the people, that sovereignty was given to princes subject to the direction of the Pope. If the latter judged, that there had been a violation of the contract by the prince, or that he deserved excommunication, the sentence of excommunication was launched. Whoever did not release himself from that excommunication within a year, was deposed. Princes and people carried the sentence of the Popes into execution. Except those, to whose prejudice, for the moment, the Papal power was exercised, none resisted it.\* But to my mind, no single one of these theories, will explain the terms, on which temporal power, in every case, was claimed and exercised by the Popes.

\* See Gosselin, "Power of the Popes," vol. ii. part ii.

Each individual exercise of power was founded on some solid principle. Sometimes the power derived a sanction from a variety of motives. Without admitting, for a moment, the donation of Constantine,\* we may reasonably agree with those, who say, that he felt jealous of that great moral power of the Popes, which overshadowed the imperial power. Emperors themselves added to, and sanctioned that power. About 540, Justinian empowered the Patriarch Paul, to pronounce on the fitness of persons for office, and gave him authority over dukes and the governors of Egypt. In course of time, the Patriarch had a voice in the appointment even of the emperor. What wonder, then, that the Pope, by his connexion with, and influence on all Christendom, should have found himself possessed of power, even in temporal matters, greater than what was enjoyed by the mightiest potentate? Then came donations to the holy see, the breaking up of the Western Empire, and the consequent accumulation of power in the hands of the Popes, the supposed donation of Constantine, and the constitutional law of Europe. Notions of jurisprudence were tinged by feudal feelings. All Christianity was assimilated to one grand fief held of God in the person of the Pope. And, whoever was guilty of rebellion to the Pope, was deemed guilty of the worst sort of treason. Hence, in 1059, a form of oath was given by Pope Nicholas, to Robert Guiscard. By that oath, an annual pension was promised to the Church of Rome for the land of Sicily.† At one time

\* Faith in the donation of Constantine was not given before the ninth, nor sapped before the fifteenth century.

† Baronius, tom. xi. n. 70, ad an. 1059.



the Pope made over England to Philip Augustus. On another occasion, the Pope threatened to deprive the latter of his kingdom, if he did not make peace with Richard. The Merovingian dynasty was changed on a decision of Pope Zachary.<sup>a</sup> A Pope gave to the duke of Anjou, brother of king Louis, the kingdom of Sicily, deposed the king of Arragon, preached up a crusade against Venice for her rebellion, and deposed the Emperor Frederick. During his deposition, his dominions were applied for to the Pope by the Eastern Emperor. But Frederick asked and received pardon in 1177, and recovered his kingdom. And then, in reply to threats from the Pope, Henry IV. denied, that unless swerving from the faith, he could be deprived of his kingdom.<sup>a</sup> In the year 1155, Pope Adrian wrote to Frederick the first, to repress abuses and impiety. A few years after, he wrote again, and exhorted him to renounce his errors, and renounce all pretensions to Ecclesiastical property in Lombardy : Otherwise he would forfeit "the crown received from himself and through his unction."<sup>b</sup>

All those instances of power exercised, are not to be explained, on any single theory. Those who were most forward, in acknowledging the power vested in the Pope, by the constitutional law of the kingdom, resisted it when exercised against themselves. In the year 1169, Henry the second, when ordered by the Pope, to be reconciled with the Archbishop of Canterbury, swore by God's eyes, that he would not obey ;<sup>c</sup> yet, the

\* The decision was simply a solution of a case of conscience, put by the French nobles.

<sup>a</sup> An. of Baronius, ad. 1080, tom. xi.

<sup>b</sup> Adrian Ep. L'Abbe, p. 1149, tom. x.

<sup>c</sup> St. Thomas, Cantuar. lib. iii. Ep. 61.

same king, as we learn from Adrian's bull, acknowledged in the Pope, a right to dispose of kingdoms. Notwithstanding a different opinion entertained by others,<sup>d</sup> I cannot avoid concluding, that the right in the Pope of disposing of Ireland, was attributed by Henry and acquiesced in by the Pope, to the power of the Keys. The opinion, which traced the temporal power of the Popes, to divine right, was entertained by most respectable writers in the time of Henry II. The very man, who obtained from the Pope, the grant of Ireland for Henry, John of Salisbury, was the great advocate of this opinion.<sup>e</sup> John, at the same time, appeared to justify the act of Pope Adrian by the supposed donation of Constantine. But while John of Salisbury speaks of the donation, and Henry, as far as we can judge from the Pope's bull, appealed to the power of the Keys, the Pope may have justified himself, as well by the indirect temporal power, which could be called into action, for the good of the Church, as by the constitutional law of the age. What I have said, will go to show, that the bull of Adrian IV. in reference to Ireland, was no very strange thing for that age.<sup>f</sup> And, on what rational grounds, the authenticity of that bull has been questioned, I am at a loss to know. John of Salis-

<sup>d</sup> Gosselin.

<sup>e</sup> See Gosselin, vol. ii., p. 360, translated by the Rev. Father Kelly.

<sup>f</sup> That a bull, however, sanctioning the invasion of Ireland should have been given on the pretexts assigned, is strange. Because a few years after the date of this bull, Adrian, when asked by the King of France to sanction his invasion of Spain, answered, that he could not think of doing so, without the approbation of the clergy and people.—Bouquet XV, 690, noticed by Dr. Lingard.

bury expressly mentions, in one of his works, that it was by his own representations, the bull had been granted.<sup>a</sup> A host of contemporaneous writers, allude to the bull.<sup>b</sup> A bull granted by Alexander the third in a few subsequent years, justifies itself by the bull granted by Adrian.<sup>c</sup> In all succeeding ages, the general belief in the authenticity of the bull was never questioned. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, in a petition of grievances sent by the Irish to Rome, the bull is spoken of, as an unquestionable fact. Even in the sixteenth century, Cardinal Pole says distinctly, that it was from his too great love of country, Pope Adrian granted the bull to Henry II.

<sup>a</sup> Metalogicus. He says that Pope Adrian gave a gold ring, as a sign of investiture.

<sup>b</sup> Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*—Windover, Nicholas Trivettus, who says, that Henry did not at once act on the bull, because the project was displeasing to the mother.—Gerald Barry, John of Warwick, “*de terris coronæ annexis.*”

<sup>c</sup> Baronius states that he found the bull of Pope Adrian in the Vatican archives. The bull is given in the bullarium of Coqueline, and by Cherubini. Nor is it an uncommon thing to expunge an obnoxious bull from the Bullarium. The bull of Adrian V. in 1565, against Henry of Navarre, and published in Rome, is not given in the Bullarium Romanum, because Henry by and by was reconciled to the Church. Nor is there any, the least reason to suppose, that John of Salisbury would sacrifice conscience in reference to the bull, for the sake of Henry. For in 1167, writing to the prior of Kent, one William, he says, “*Spes est Domino ut vociferantibus tabis sacerdotalibus, in proximo corruiat et Hiericho,*” &c.—Ep. 210, *Bibliot. Pabrum*, tom. xxiii. He recommended that the spiritual sword should be drawn, and excommunication hurled against Henry, in the case of St. Thomas A’Becket; so that, when John of Salisbury assures us, he obtained the bull for Henry, it is unreasonable to suppose that he lied, in order to prop up the claim of Henry II.

Little as there was in the nature of things to justify the invasion of Ireland, there was a great deal to excuse the Pope in issuing the bull. Considering the high-flown notions of temporal power, which the jurisprudence of the age sanctioned to the Papacy, and the appalling picture laid before the Pope, of the Irish Church, it is not wonderful, that the power was exercised for the reformation of this Church. The state was represented as in anarchy. The country was divided into a number of petty chieftaincies. On the death of each chieftain, the clan was apt to be divided and in arms, on the choice of a tanist. The principle of hereditary succession was not firmly established. Rival competitors for the sovereignty were likely to start up, not merely in the same families, but even in different and hostile septs. It was only by valor and the strong hand, the sceptre was grasped and maintained. Society, for the twelfth century, was represented as unhinged. Nor were the affairs of the Church looked on, in a more hopeful light. Ever since the invasion of the Danes, things in the Irish Church, were looked on at Rome, as taking a downward direction. Lanfranc and Anselm, complained of the corruption of morals in Ireland. Even the bands of matrimony were described to have sat loosely on the married.<sup>1</sup> Incestuous concubinage prevailed;<sup>2</sup> awful relaxation of discipline was represented to be the order of the day. At the council of Kells, general action, indeed, was taken by the Irish Church for the suppression of simony and concubinage. Yet after this, the Pope

<sup>1</sup> St. Anselm says, "*homines ita libere, et publice suas uxores uxoris aliorum commutant, sicut cuilibet equum equo.*"—Usher, Sylloge.

<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard in vita St. Malachiae, serm in trans, 301.

got reason to look on Ireland, as no better than a Sodom. Such must be the inference from the bull of Alexander III. Nor does his information, appear to have been derived from a less reliable source, than the authority of Christian, Bishop of Iismore.<sup>1</sup> But while the picture even of the Irish Church was drawn in the darkest colors, I cannot help thinking it was over-drawn.<sup>m</sup> That there were individual acts of monstrous crime, that some parts of the country may have exhibited only a low tone of morality, cannot be denied. However it is not unlikely, that there was generalization on too narrow a basis, that there was a general conclusion from the particular premises.

Great stress has been laid on the representations of the Archbishops Anselm and Lanfranc.

The Bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick received consecration from the English Archbishop. On that account, they furnished reports of the state of their dioceses to their metropolitans. But they were reports, not on the Irish, but on Danish irregularities. Likewise, much has been made of St. Bernard's remarks

<sup>1</sup> Alexander says, "*Plerumque pervenit ad notitiam Apostolicam. And the crimes reported were, that the step-mother was known carnally by the step-son, the sister-in-law by the brother-in-law, the two sisters by the same individual.*"—*Liber Scaccarii*, vol. I.

<sup>m</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that the Irish Church, at this period, was much purer than the Scottish Church. In 1076, a council was held in Scotland—among other decrees, it stated, "that the illicit marriages with step-mothers and sisters-in-law, cannot be too much execrated."—*Mansi. Supp. ad Concil.* vol. 2, p. 26. Gregory the Seventh, writing to Lanfranc, says, "*Inter omnia nefas, quod de Scotis audivimus, quod plerique videlicet proprias uxores non solum deserunt, sed etiam vendunt, omnibus modis, prohibere contendat.*" *Lubbe Conc.*, p. 535.

on the life of St. Malachy. Without denying the existence of gross abuses in the dioceses of Down and Connor, one is tempted to look on St. Bernard, rather as the rhetorician, than the historian. He got the materials, from a correspondent in Ireland, and if they were not overwrought, they surely were tinged by the coloring of a rich fancy. This view derives some confirmation from the fact, that crimes of immorality are the staple of the charge against the Irish. And when it is considered, that the Irish clergy, even in the judgment of their calumniators, had been in all ages, found lovers of continency and purity, and that the tendency of the Irish, to respect and imitate their clergy has been remarkable, one is at a loss to reconcile purity of morals in the clergy, to a degree remarkable among the surrounding nations, with a bad preëminence in immorality, among the Irish laics. Certain it is, that, without artful representations to Rome, on the part of those favorable to English interests, there never had been a bull for the invasion of Ireland.

However, no matter how much or how little called for, was the bull of Adrian IV., it exercised but small influence on the destinies of the Irish nation. William the Conqueror, and his son, contemplated the invasion of Ireland. The idea of an invasion crossed Henry's mind, before he applied for, or received the Pope's bull. After receiving it, and before he acted on it, he laid it aside for nineteen years. And even then, when doing that, for which the bull was granted, the king did not deem it necessary to lean on, or appeal to the document. To make some pretence of fulfilling the conditions, on which he received the bull, early in 1172 he wished to

convene the Bishops. They met at Cashel.<sup>n</sup> There attended, the Archbishops of Cashel, of Tuam, of Dublin, and their suffragans. Neither the Primate, nor his suffragans, if we except one, were in attendance. Ralph, Archdeacon of Landaff, Nicholas the king's chaplain, and other Ecclesiastics represented the king. And as the decrees drawn up at the Synod of Cashel must give a juster picture of the state of the Church, than any panegyric on one side, or calumny on the other, they must be read with interest.

“ 1° The faithful through Ireland, were ordered to contract and observe lawful marriages, and to reject all marriages with relations, either by blood or affinity. 2° Infants were ordered to be catechized before the door of the church, and baptized in the holy fount, in the baptismal church. 3° All the faithful were commanded to pay tithes of animals, corn, and the other produce, to the church, of which they are parishioners. 4° All Ecclesiastical lands, and property connected with them, were declared exempt from the exactions of all laymen; and, especially, petty kings or counts or powerful laymen in Ireland, or their sons, were not to exact, as was usual, victuals or hospitality, or entertainment in the ecclesiastical district, or to presume to extort them by force. Also, the obnoxious food or contributions, which used to be required four times each year, from the farms belonging to Churches, by the neighbouring counts, were not to be claimed in future. 5° In case of murder by a layman, who compounded with his enemies, clergymen and their relations, were not to pay part of the fine. That as they were not concerned in

<sup>n</sup> Spelman's *Giraldus Cambrensis*, lib. Expug. ch. 34.

the murder, so, too, they should be exempt from the payment of the money. 6° All the faithful lying in sickness, were bound, in presence of their confessor and neighbours, to make their will with due solemnity, and to divide, in case they had wives and children, (saving what went to pay their debts, and servants' wages) all their moveable goods, into three parts. One part was to go to the children, another part to the lawful wife, and a third was devoted to the funeral obsequies. 7° That due respect be paid through masses, vigils, and decent burial, to those who die after having made a good confession. And that all things should be done thenceforth, agreeably to the observance of the English Church."<sup>o</sup> From these decrees, one cannot infer in the Irish Church, danger to faith, or gross immorality. The first decree would appear to imply the most serious abuse. Marriage, within the forbidden degrees of relationship, with the consent of the Church, was not sin. Because, the power which forbade, could render lawful such a marriage. It may have been unpleasant to have brought an unnecessary pressure on the Church, to relax her laws, but, relaxation in favour of the Irish was almost a necessity. Owing to the system of clanship which prevailed, it was very difficult to marry into other clans ;<sup>p</sup> and marrying in one's own clan, of course, it was found pretty inconvenient to observe the degrees of relationship laid down by the Church. Even for the Universal Church, the law in a few years sub-

<sup>o</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hib. Expug.* ch. 33.

<sup>p</sup> Even so late as 1469, the grounds for application for a dispensation in the second degree of relationship were, both that it was difficult to marry into other families, and that wars would be thereby prevented. Octavian's Register, vol. ii. p. 778. T.C.D.



sequent, was relaxed. The degrees of relationship prohibitory of marriage, were lessened from seven to four. But the most serious abuse hinted at by the first decree, was, that lawful wives were abandoned. Indeed, it may not be denied, that in some parts, especially where the Northmen resided,<sup>q</sup> on the score of sexual intercourse, and observance of the marriage vows, there had been some grounds for complaint. But the only thing complained of, in the decree, was, that the marriages were, not “*de presente*,” but “*de futuro*.” It had been customary then, and for many ages afterwards, to make the marriage depend on something contingent or future. This may have given rise to some inconvenience : at the same time, there is no reason why such a marriage, according to the ablest Theologians, could not have been a valid marriage.<sup>r</sup> The consent should have been given at the present time, contingent on something future. In the mean time, the consent should not have been withdrawn, otherwise, of course, there could have been no marriage. Such marriages were not uncommon, even in the sixteenth century.—In the fourteenth century, Primate Collin, in his visitation of the Diocese of Derry, entertained a complaint from a lady, Owna, against Majornius O’Cahil.—The complaint was that he deserted her. Her grounds for complaint were, that the marriage had been “*de presente*.” And this clearly shows, that another kind of marriage, namely, “*de futuro*,” was present

<sup>q</sup> See letters of Lanfranc to Gothric, king of Dublin. Sylloge of Usher.

<sup>r</sup> De Lugo, De Just, et Jure, d. xxii. n. 386. Sanchez b. v. d. viii. no. 5, Collet c. iii. no. 146. Carrier, vol. 1, p. 333, Lygorio, vol. 7, no. 890, &c. The conditions placed, should not, of course, be opposed to the substance of the marriage. But see the above authors.

to the mind. To meet the inconvenience, then, from making the consent to be given to marriage, depend on anything future, the first part of the first decree was framed. 2° There was a seemliness in having all the sacraments, as much as possible, administered in the church. Hence, the great propriety in requiring, that children should have been brought to the church, in order to receive baptism.\* Not that such a step was necessary, to the validity of the sacrament. St. Patrick baptized hundreds in the living stream; and, in the present century, it had been found inconvenient, for a long time, to administer the sacrament of baptism, on all occasions, in the church. At the same time, it was fit, and indeed usual, no matter how much exceptional cases may have called for legislation, to have baptism conferred in churches.† 3° In recommending the

\* It is well, that the Irish were not accused of ignorance of the *form* of baptism. In a synod held among the Anglo-Irish (Inter Anglicos) in 1434, one of the canons ordained, that baptism should be conferred, “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Amen. Prene’s Register, vol. 2, p. 13, T.C.D.

† See Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv. The foolish charge of Brompton, that the children of the rich were baptized in milk, is met by Dr. Lanigan, who says with very great probability, that the practice in the African Churches of giving milk and honey to newly baptized, prevailed in Ireland. In fact, in our own days, scarcely a child is brought to the font, without a good supply of milk and sugar in a bottle, or in some other vessel. That on this narrow fact, the whole story of baptizing in milk, should have been built, will not surprise one, who recollects, how Gerald Barry, who pretended to speak from personal knowledge, foolishly interpreted facts and words. An island, because inhabited by religious, was called the “island of the living.” Any one would understand it in a moral sense. Gerald Barry says that no persons died, unless women, who lived on that island. The fact is, that religious were called children of life: while the wicked were called children of death. See O’Donovan’s 4 m. ad. an. 1600, p. 2218, note (w).

payment of tithes, the Synod of Cashel conferred no new, or great boon on the Irish Church. Tithes did not prevail till the sixteenth century in Spain. They are not necessary to the character of a thoroughly Catholic nation. And looking to the unseemly scenes enacted during the middle ages, no few of them will appear to have sprung from the tithe system. But even supposing tithes to be usual appendages to a canonically governed church, and to be of unmixed good, we are not to suppose that they were, up to the coming of the Norman, wholly unknown in Ireland. The tithe system, in a modified and, perhaps, the wisest form, was known to the early Irish Church. Tribute to the Church was regulated by the custom of the province. However, all precaution was taken "that the poor should not be oppressed by tithes."<sup>u</sup> In fact, tithes to the Church, even from the rich, were regulated by a regard to the ministrations of the ministers of religion.<sup>v</sup> Tithes from animals and from the produce of the soil, were specially mentioned. So, too, about the close of the eleventh century, Gillebert, bishop of Limerick and legate of the Apostolic See, in a treatise—which may be looked upon as a compendium of Canon law—alludes

<sup>u</sup> *Spicilegium D'Acherry*, Tom. ix. cap. xxx.

<sup>v</sup> "No Priest may receive gifts from any one, of whose conscience he had not a knowledge. Because, as the hosts do not profit the giver, so the gifts may injure the receiver of the gifts.—*Ibid*, xxii. Marten, Coll. ii. vol. 4, speaking of an Irish canon, says, "ut omni anno decimas de vitalibus et mortalibus demus Deo, cum anno omne ipsius munera habeamus." Tithes were given from the fruits, only in proportion to the growth. How to manage, if there could not be a tenth division of a matter, afforded considerable embarrassment.—*See Register of All Hallows*, printed for I. A. S.—App.

to tithes, as one of the sources of revenue to the Church.\* And the reader need not be reminded, that the synod of Kells, in 1152, dwelt on the propriety of giving tithes to the Church. 4° The decree which secured immunity to ecclesiastical tenants, and ecclesiastical property, from exactions, was not carried out: for the old Irish "cuddy," coyne and livery were substituted. In the year 1503, an agreement was entered into between the friars of Kilcormick, on the one hand, and Theobald, son of Donagh, on the other, by which the former were bound to give food to four persons, four times a year.† To such a height did the abuse reach, that in the fifteenth century the provincial councils deemed that ecclesiastics should be unmolested, at least on Saturday and Sunday evenings. So far was ecclesiastical property from being secure against attack, that even the very persons of ecclesiastics were profaned in the rush for conquest. Why, if mere laws could have secured immunity to ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical property, there had been no need of the Synod of Cashel. The Synod of Rathbreasail long before confirmed to the church its possessions, and declared them free from exactions and tribute.‡ The dynast supported himself from certain lands, set apart for that purpose, as well as by some exactions called 'cosherings.' But unless in violation of law, these 'cosherings' may not be demanded from the church lands.§ In the year 1050, the king of Meath made a grant of land in honor of St. Columbkille. No rent, hosting, coigny, or any other claim,

\* See Sylloge Epist. by Usher, p. 85.

† I. A. Miscellany, vol. 1, p. 104.

‡ Annals of Cloneagh.

§ Harris' Ware's Antiquities, p. 70.

may be made by king or chieftain, on said lands.<sup>a</sup> And as Leogaire had a claim of 'coinmhe' for a night,<sup>b</sup> on church lands, O'Loughlin, king of Ireland, and Dermot Maelshaughlin, induced him to renounce the claim for three ounces of gold—"The church lands were, for two reasons, declared free—first, by the general rights of the church, and secondly, by purchase." Several grants of freedom to the church were made by the kings of Connaught and Munster too, before the coming of the English. In contrast to the English ecclesiastics, whom we will see, by and by, leading on battalions to slaughter, the Irish ecclesiastics in 799, were exempted from accompanying the chief on his warlike expeditions.<sup>c</sup> 5° Nothing, indeed, was more unseemly than that the ecclesiastic, who should, like Melchisedech, be looked on as without father or mother, was punished for the misdemeanors of his relatives. The Eric was a fine paid not only for killing one, but even for an attempt to kill.<sup>d</sup> The fine was levied on all the friends of the murderer. And even supposing that the Irish ecclesiastic was not exempt from contribution, yet there is no doubt, that he enjoyed more privileges withal, than an ecclesiastic in any other country in Europe. In point of fact, however, exemption from the eric was enjoyed for full three hundred years before the synod of Cashel, by the Irish

<sup>a</sup> I. A. M. vol. 1. p. 153. et seq. p. 131—141.

<sup>b</sup> The night's feasting used to be kept at Ardbraccan. In 1611, O'Brolchan, successor to St. Columbkille, in Derry, freed all the Churches, of St. Columbkille, in Meath and Leinster, by obtaining for them exemption from tribute.—Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>c</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>d</sup> See Transactions of R. I. A. Brehon Laws, vol. xv.

ecclesiastic.\* In one of the old Irish canons, in reference to the fine for crime, the legislators say, "that the penalty was to be levied on the substance of the culprit, in default of it on his land, then on his lord, lastly, on those who gave him food or arms. However, the church, even though it supplied food, was not subject to the penalty." And in assigning a reason for this exception, the legislators beautifully express the beneficent, mild, fostering spirit of the church. "Because the church," they add, "is a dove, and the dove gives food, not only to its own young, but to every bird that demands it."†

6° By a law laid down in the Seanchus More, in the time of St. Patrick, one-third of the property of the deceased went to the family church.‡ However, if the burial took place in another church, the property was divided between the parish church and burial church.‡

7° If uniformity of discipline were desirable between the Irish and English churches, it surely was not brought about by the synod of Cashel.† Nor, indeed, was it desirable that in all respects the Irish Church should con-

\* See vol. 2, p. 548, note, of *Cambrensis Eversus*, edited by the Rev. M. Kelly.

† See the *Spicilegium* of D'Acherry, tome ix., cap. 29. "*Quia Columba est. Columba Autem, non suis tantum, pullis, ministrat, sed omnibus avibus aperiens os suum.*"

‡ By the old Irish canons, a part of the substance of every deceased person, was given to the priests. Among the things to be left to the Church, mention is made of a horse, drinking cup, and an ornament about the bed. In some circumstances one-third of the property was left to the Church.—D'Acherry, vol. 9, ch. 22—ch. 24.

§ Vol. 2 of *Cambrensis Eversus*, by the late Father Kelly of Maynooth.

† See *Martyrology of Christ Church*.

form to English practices.<sup>1</sup> There was no connection between the Irish and English churches, save, that the same monarch had a voice in presenting to benefices in both.<sup>2</sup> And then as to national offices and traditions, while they inspire a love of virtue with peculiar force, because associated often with the foundation and the life-struggle of a church, they should be respected and cherished. The same idea may be expressed in a variety of forms and language. On that account, the early churches, though entertaining the same views in all points of doctrine, struck out, agreeably to their genius and devotion, various liturgies and offices. Besides the Eastern liturgies, a variety of them is found in the Western church. So, too, the Irish Church had a variety of offices and a national liturgy.<sup>1</sup> In this diversity of discipline, Rome, which gave its sanction to it, saw only a beautiful variety. Hence, when St.

1 In a council held at Westminster on the Sunday before the Ascension in 1175, the Bishops legislated against the enormities, that were constantly cropping up (incessanter pullulant); against concubinage of the clergy; against the reception of money, for the administration of the sacraments; against consecration in tin chalices, and against dipping the sacred species of bread in the species of wine.—Hoveden, “*Pars posterior.*”

\* I am surprised, that the learned Thomassinus, because reading that a few Danish Bishops in Ireland received consecration from their countrymen of Canterbury, before the Synod of Kells, should hastily assert, that the Irish Church was established by, and dependant on. the Church of Canterbury.—See Thomas, *Ancienne et Nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, Part I. Liv. I., chap. xxxvi.—ix.

<sup>1</sup> The Gallican liturgy prevailed till the time of Charlemagne; the Mosarabic till a later period. In fact, in the sixteenth century, St. Charles Boromeo was zealous for its preservation. The Spanish liturgy conformed to the Roman about 1080. See Bergier's *Theolog. Dict.*, au mot “*Liturgie.*”

Augustine, the Apostle of England, writing to Gregory the Great, asked, which was fitter, the use of the Roman or Gallican liturgy? the Pope answered, "Whatever is most conducive to the glory of God, whether adopted from Rome or Gaul, that choose. Because things are not to be loved for the place; but the place is to be loved for the good things which it exhibits."<sup>m</sup>

And, as the Irish Church maintained points of discipline common to the early ages of Christianity, longer than many other churches in Europe, so, perhaps, no church in the twelfth century, possessed such a variety of offices.<sup>n</sup> The Bishop of Limerick, Gillebert, by writing a treatise on the ecclesiastical offices, did a great deal to bring about, in that respect, an uniformity of discipline. But he did not entirely succeed, nor, as I said before, did the Synod of Cashel labor, with much better success. It was desirable that the Irish offices should agree substantially with the English offices. Not because, indeed, they were *English*, but because the Salisbury "Use," or the English rite appeared to imitate closely the Roman rite. And as, in course of time, there had been a general tendency to conform in all respects to Rome, lest in the multiplication of independent nations there may be a fear of dissent in doctrine, under this respect, the motion at Cashel, to assimilate English or

<sup>m</sup> Bede, lib. I, chap. 27. And St. Jerome, Ep. 28 ad Lucininus, says, "Traditiones Ecclesiasticus præsertim, quæ fidei non officiant ita observandas esse ut a majoribus traditæ sunt."

<sup>n</sup> The office of "Chorepiscopus," was kept on till the 12th century. The office of exorcist and acolythe is frequently mentioned during the fifteenth century in the registries of Armagh.



rather Roman and the Irish offices had been laudable.\* These few canons of a disciplinary character, and re-enacted, as remarked by a Protestant historian,<sup>p</sup> every year since the synod of Kells by Irish Bishops, these were the only equivalent given for the horrors of an invasion.

Henry the second did not wait long in Ireland, after the Synod of Cashel : having got into trouble by the murder of St. Thomas A'Becket, and fearing for his dominions, he set sail from Waterford, on April the seventeenth, 1172. But before, or immediately after leaving Ireland, he sent a not unfavourable account to the Pope of his proceedings in Ireland, drew a picture of the Irish Church as already affording hopeful signs, and expressed anticipations, that, ere long, it would be clothed in purity and beauty. Pope Alexander received, with joy, such tidings. He directed three letters, one to the king, another to the Irish princes, and a third to the Bishops. Though writing on the same subject, he suited the style to his correspondents. In writing to Henry, the Pope alludes to the crimes, to the enormities, which prevailed in the Irish Church, says, that his information has been derived from the legate, the Bishop of Lismore, and urged on the king, the necessity of taking all possible pains to remedy the evil. His letter to the princes of the country, dwelt on the obligation of paying respect

\* Some, such as Hanmer and Campion, make the decree relative to the uniformity in ritual observances, a distinct and an eighth canon. Leland has no grounds for putting words of thanks to Henry II. into the mouths of the Irish Bishops, for the remedy applied to existing abuses. It is not given by Wilkin's Councils, as a part of the decrees. Vol. I., 471. The addition was a flourish of Gerald Barry.

<sup>p</sup> Leland.

and obedience to their liege-lord. Their pride was not wounded ; they were reminded, that it was due to themselves to obey him, not as one who conquered them, but whom they voluntarily received among themselves. A third letter written on the 12th of the Kalends of October, of the same date as the other letters, was directed to the Bishops. In it they were encouraged to give all their cöoperation to the king in extirpating all filthy practices from the land, and to inculcate on the people a love of peace, and fidelity to the king. To secure the sympathy and cöoperation of the Bishops, the Pope pointed to the happy results which already appeared from the king's mission.<sup>a</sup>

But, while steps were being taken by the Irish Church for its reformation, was any thing done by it to enslave the state to Henry ? This question is often asked. Or, if not asked, it is only because it is thought by many to be beyond a shadow of doubt. The Irish Church did nothing for, or against the state, at the Synod of Cashel, because the Irish Church was not represented there. The Primate of Ireland did not attend. Scarcely one, if even one, of his suffragans deigned to be present. The Bishops present made a virtue of necessity. They thought, that submission to that power, which could not be repelled, was the best policy. Surely, no Bishop should be taunted by the country for that very part, which the patriot martyr, St. Laurence O'Toole enacted. At one time, Irish Bishops, were accused of perjury, but two years before, in order to secure the independence of their country. By and by, they are represented, as selfishly handing over the lives and liberties

<sup>a</sup> Liber Seaccarii, Vol. I.

of a nation, to a stranger. Whether piping or dancing, they are not destined to escape. The truth lies between both charges. The Irish Church, while there was reasonable hope of national independence, preached up resistance. The Irish Church, when it was madness to hold out or chafe, recommended acquiescence. What was done at Cashel, was not the work of the Irish Church. And whatever was done, had no influence on the destinies of the nation. On that account, Roderick O'Connor, was far from doing homage to Henry the second. Henry looked on O'Connor, as a rival for the sovereignty of Ireland; and were it not for the necessity he lay under of leaving the country, he had made arrangements for giving battle to O'Connor.<sup>r</sup> O'Connor was not conquered. But O'Connor could not repel the invader. Desmond had yielded; Thomond, M'Murrough of Leinster, O'Rorke of Meath, and O'Melaghlin king of Ossory had yielded.<sup>s</sup> When the warrior chiefs shrunk from the battle field, it was not for the ministers of the church, to step outside the sanctuary. Though the Primate Gelasius, was represented as absent from the Cashel Synod because of infirmity, there is reason to think, that his absence was caused by policy. He dared not offend the Ulster

<sup>r</sup> Hoveden. Diceto. Gervase.

<sup>s</sup> Leland. The Bishops, writing to the Pope, say, that Henry II. had subdued all the country to his sway. And Gerald Barry, opening a chapter in the history of the conquest of Ireland, assures us, "that the whole country was in silence and submission, in presence of the King," when he convened the council of Cashel. Annals Ulster say, that in 1171, the King took hostages from Munster, came, afterwards, to Dublin, took hostages from Leinster and Meath, from Ibruiuin, Argiall, and Ulster.

princes, among whom his See lay. He dared not compromise the independence of the chief king. Furthermore, about the same time, he presided at a Synod convened by, or at the suggestion of Roderick. However Gelasius gave his sanction to the proceedings at Cashel.

The king of England, had not long left Ireland, when disturbances arose there : some of those, who promised fealty, flew to arms. Repenting of their submission or goaded by wanton outrage, Desmond, Thomond, and O'Connor himself, attacked the common enemy, and rendered Henry's tenure of a single sod in Ireland quite precarious. At this critical moment the king, thinking that the bull of Pope Adrian would stand him in good stead, determined to try its effect on the Irish people. He wrote to Pope Alexander the third, reminded him of the bull given by his predecessor, and demanded a confirmation of it. A Synod was convened at Waterford. Nicholas the king's chaplain, Ralph an Abbot, and another Ralph, Dean of Landaff, attended on the part of Henry. They were bearers of this confirmatory brief of Alexander the third. It ran thus—"Alexander, Bishop, servant of servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace, and the apostolic benediction. In as much as, things, granted on good reasons by our predecessor, are to be allowed, ratified, and confirmed : we, well considering the grant and privilege concerning the donation of the land of Ireland, which belongs to us, and lately given by Adrian our predecessor : and following his steps, do, in like manner, confirm, ratify, and allow the same. Reserving and saving to St. Peter and to the Church of Rome, the yearly revenue of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the

barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed, and recovered from their filthy and abominable conversation, as that in name, so in life and in manners, they may be Christians, and the rude and disordered Church being reformed by you, that the whole nation may, with the possession of the name, be in acts and deeds, followers of the same." Now, for the first time, the bull of Adrian had been publicly produced by Henry. The Pope, in sending the above brief confirmatory of the bull of Adrian, wrote to Christian the legate, to the Archbishops, and to Henry. In writing to the legate, he dwelt on the enormities, which, he said, he had learned on reliable authority—In writing to Henry, he assured him of the submission of the Bishops. His letter to the Archbishops<sup>1</sup> called for their co-operation, in plucking up the vices of the people. No letter is mentioned, as having been sent on this, as on a former occasion, to the native princes.<sup>2</sup> Whether this neglect of the princes arose from a conviction of their helplessness in offering any opposition, I know not. But at all events, about the same time, the monarch of Ireland, Roderic O'Connor, came to terms with the English monarch. As his representatives he sent over to England Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, Concors, Abbot of St. Brendan's in Clonfert, and Laurence. The king and council gave them an audience at Windsor. By a

<sup>1</sup> MS. in the British Museum, quoted in the third part of the "*Liber Munerum*."—Sylloge of Usher.

<sup>2</sup> Brompton wrongly asserts, that the Pope, on receiving an account of the proceedings at Waterford, constituted Henry *King* of Ireland. Those who deny the authenticity of this bull, lay much stress on the mistake. But, of course, it is as dust in the balance, against the weight of evidence to prove the genuineness of this document.

treaty then concluded, Roderick promised submission to Henry. As a mark of submission he undertook to pay a hide from every tenth head of cattle. Henry, on his part, bound himself to secure to Roderick the full sovereignty, as before, over most of Ireland. The only parts excepted were Dublin, Meath, Leinster, Waterford and Dungarvan, with the country between it and Waterford. Furthermore, to secure the dependance of the petty princes on O'Connor, the English Monarch promised, to aid him with all his forces. The council was held during the octave of the feast of St. Michael.<sup>v</sup> Before it broke up, Henry exercised his first act of patronage in reference to the Irish Church. He presented Augustin to the diocese of Waterford. Up to this time, for nearly a century previously, the Bishops of Waterford, which was composed chiefly of Danes, were sent for consecration to the Norman Archbishops of Canterbury, with whom the northmen of Waterford claimed kindred.<sup>w</sup> But, Henry sent Augustin, an Irishman, to be consecrated by his own metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel.

If any one were foolishly sanguine enough, to hope for a reformation in church and state in Ireland, through the murderer of St. Thomas A'Becket, and through his lawless followers, their hope was speedily dashed. The treaty of Windsor was violated. De Burgo, disdaining the limits assigned him in 1177, made incursions into Connaught.<sup>x</sup> In the same year, Cardinal Vivian, of the title of St. Stephen de Monte Cælio,

<sup>v</sup> Hoveden. Old Rymer's *fœdera*.

<sup>w</sup> See Introductory Chapter.

<sup>x</sup> Liber Scaccarii, Vol. I.

came as legate apostolic to Ireland, and the neighbouring Islands. It is said, that he came to preach up the claims of Henry to the submission of the Irish people, to enforce that submission by censure and excommunication, and that he came escorted, by the Anglo-Norman soldiery :<sup>1</sup> others say, that charged with business of importance in connexion with the Scottish Church, Vivian merely chanced to touch at Ireland. At all events, after spending some time at the Isle of Man, after the Epiphany, he proceeded to Downpatrick. John De Courcey, against the advice of Fitzadelm governor, on the 2nd of February, proceeded from Dublin towards the north, on a plundering expedition.<sup>2</sup> The king of Down, Dunlevy, gave battle to De Courcey. But the Cardinal, so far from preaching up submission to the English, on seeing the rapacity of the Anglo-Normans, and the rejection by De Courcey of reasonable terms from the king of Down, urged it as a sacred duty, on Dunlevy and his Irish subjects, to defend themselves, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. Either because found in the train of the army, or because known to be attached to the interest of his toparch, the Bishop of Down was captured by De Courcey. The Cardinal himself was captured ; but liberated without delay he procured the release of the Bishop also. While an eye-witness of the deeds of oppression by the Anglo-Normans, the Cardinal shared in the indignation,

<sup>1</sup> Dowling's Annals, which add, "that the Cardinal was sent to order the Irish to supply the English with food, at a reasonable price." This was done by Vivian, but he got no orders to do so. Because, it was only after his arrival in Ireland, the contingency of stowing away provisions from the English took place.—Leland.

<sup>2</sup> Haumer, p. 295.

and burned with the enthusiasm of the natives. So too, would many have felt in like circumstances, who, wrought on by artful representation, fell in with the views of the oppressor. But, by and by, on coming to Dublin, the Cardinal summoned a council of Bishops. A change had come over his spirit. It may have been, that he was persuaded of the hopelessness, of the folly of resistance. Or it may have been, that warped by the gratification of that love of gain, which cursed and rendered useless his mission, that he came around to the stronger side against the oppressed.<sup>a</sup> Or it may be, that, without an imputation of inconsistency he encouraged resistance to the expedition of De Courcey, who, acting against the advice of the governor, was looked on as no better than a freebooter. However it may have been, on coming to Dublin at the Synod, Cardinal Vivian hurled excommunication against all those, who offered any opposition to the arms of the English monarch. Generally speaking, in Ireland the greatest respect had been entertained for the rights of sanctuary. So far was this carried, that, even what was stolen from the sanctuary—if one were wicked enough to be guilty of the theft—was supposed sufficient, when thrown around one, to protect from the just vengeance of the law. Under these feelings, in order to embarrass the English, the provisions of the country were swept into the churches. The delusion, however, vanished. Cardinal Vivian dogmatically announced from his throne, that, a reasonable price being offered for them, the provisions may be drawn from the sanctuary.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Baronius' Annals.

<sup>b</sup> Campion. King Cormac compiled laws, which regulated the punishment for violation of sanctuary.—*Cambrensis Eversus*, v.2, p.371.



De Courcey, who plundered and slew the innocent, could very strangely exhibit some traits worthy of a religious missionary. He appears to have taken all pains in the foundation, and endowment of religious houses. In the year 1178, he gave to the priory of St. Bega the Island of Neddram. However, one-third of it was reserved to Malachy, the Bishop. Under that reservation, the Bishop ratified the grant; and, besides, promised to give half of the offerings made by the faithful on five festivals. These were the Nativity of our Lord, the Visitation of the B. V. M., St. Patrick's Day, Easter Sunday, and Pentecost.<sup>c</sup> In five years afterwards, De Courcey entered into an agreement with the Abbey of Chester. The secular Canons were removed from Devon. They were replaced by Benedictine monks from Chester. *He* undertook to endow them with ten carucates of land, on one condition. This stipulated, that, while the Abbey of Chester should provide monks, it should, however, exercise no jurisdiction over the lands. Malachy the Bishop was to be both Abbot, and Bishop; the Monks were to form the Canons; the Prior was looked on as dean. And with these, till the reformation, the election of the Bishop rested.<sup>d</sup> John De Courcey confirmed the donations made by former kings and princes.<sup>e</sup> The donation to Neddram, as most of the donations to religious by the Irish and Anglo-Irish, were made in the vigour of health. The grant was not, as in later ages,

<sup>c</sup> Rol. Parl. 42 Edward III.

<sup>d</sup> Taxation of Down and Connor. It was no uncommon thing, to have the offices of Abbot and Bishop united in one. The Archbishop of Dublin styled himself, regular abbot of the Cathedral Churches of the Blessed Trinity, and Bishop of St. Patrick's.—Liber Niger.

<sup>e</sup> Registry of St. Werburg's, Chester.

clogged with conditions—Laws of Mortmain, or “bequests’ acts,” did not check the flow of charity; the gift was given in the flush of health, from a high supernatural motive. The precise lawyer-like wording, which characterizes the deed, contrasts with the simple grants of the native Irish. As a specimen of the sort, I give the charter of John De Courcey:—“Let it be known to all, that I, John De Courcey, by this charter have given and do confirm to God, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to the monks serving God here, in free and perpetual alms, two-thirds of the Island of Neddram, and two-thirds of all the lands belonging to the Church. Bishop Malachy shall have a third of the benefice of said church, and also a third of the island. Besides, I grant to the monks, all the lands which belonged to Gillanhar, with its appurtenances in wood and plains, in meadow and pasture, in mills, in ponds, in banks, in roads, in paths, in fresh and salt-water, in islands and harbours, in fishponds, in wreckage, &c., also sok<sup>f</sup> and sak, tack and tol,<sup>g</sup> Them,<sup>h</sup> and Infangthef,<sup>i</sup> for my soul and the souls of my father and mother, free from all secular exactions; also timber for building and burning, and what may be necessary for feeding animals and horses in my woods, without obstruction from the forester.”<sup>j</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Sak is forfeiture.      <sup>g</sup> Toll, was the money received at markets.

<sup>h</sup> Them. By this, one was to have the generations of his villeins, with their suites and cattle, wherever found. If, however, the bondman dwelt for a year and a day in a privileged town, he could not be claimed as a villein.

<sup>i</sup> Infangthef meant, that thieves taken in one’s Lordship, could be judged and convicted—Glossary of Terms. See Registries of Armagh.

<sup>j</sup> Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. 2—1018

It is pleasant to see, that the Irish Bishops, much occupied as they were, amid the troubles of invasion, were thought worthy of being consulted at the third general Council of Lateran : it was held in 1179. St. Laurence of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Brictius of Limerick, Augustin of Waterford, Felix of Lismore, and Constantine O'Brien of Killaloe, represented the Irish Church.\* But, before they left his dominions, Henry II. required from them an oath, that they would not sanction any encroachments on his prerogatives. However, St. Laurence pleaded the cause of his country—he told the pathetic story of her faith, and her wrongs ; as if he had been annoyed by Henry II., his jurisdiction over the five suffragans, and the possessions attached to his see were confirmed to him.<sup>1</sup> By a bull directed to him, by and by by the Pope, St. Laurence was appointed legate

\* Harris' Bishops, 604. William of Newbridge. Usher says, (Sylloge, ep. 48) that five or six, besides Catholicus and St. Laurence, were summoned.

<sup>1</sup> Swords, with its appurtenances, Finglass, Clondalkin, Tamlacht ; the church of Bishop Sanctanus ; Rathmichael, Cellcomgaill, Cellachaith, Driegnig, Cellcrithaith, with the mountain districts, from Igis to Sudi ; Cheli, Kevin's Church, with its appurtenances ; Technabretnach, Lechrecasandi (for the support of the canons, however), half of Rathravini, the harbour of Beth, Raithchillin, Glasnedin, with the mill ; Chennudrochit (the head of the bridge), with the mill ; Balemltamluib, or Ballamee-amlaib (M'Auliff's town ?), Dun-Cuanach, Bulengore, Cellesra, Cenanusnel, Lisbuan, a third part of Clogher, a third part of Cella, Cluiniheny, Kalgoho, Talachuchain, Celmgenalenin, Celltuca, Racthsalean, Tulachnanespoe, Drumind, Balencharum, Tirodraun, Balenroolef, Balimochain, Ballimacemurgussa, Balendelan, St. Thomas' Church, St. Nicholas', St. Werburgh's, St. Patrick's, and the island of Dalkey,—all were assigned to the Archdiocese of Dublin.—See Sylloge of Usher, Alan's Registry, T.C.D., and the useful little life of St. Laurence, by Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon, pp. 77-78.

for Ireland.<sup>m</sup> These privileges, the zeal for country, and the worth, to which the granting of these privileges was attributed, annoyed the English Monarch. However, he suppressed his resentment.

In 1180, to obtain, or to secure the fulfilment of, favorable terms for Roderick O'Connor, St. Laurence O'Toole went to England. He was forbidden to return to Ireland. He went to Normandy. He took ill. Sickness and broken spirits told on him. During his last moments, he sent a message to the king, demanding peace for his unfortunate country. On being asked, to make testamentary arrangements, he said, "God knows I die worth nothing, in this world." The only thing of earth, which interposed between himself and his God, was a thought on his country. And looking back, on the threshold of existence, he was heard to exclaim in dying accents, "Foolish people, what will become of you? Who will heal your misfortunes?" His words were, indeed, prophetic. On November 14th, 1180, he delivered up his soul to his Creator.

Only fifteen years have elapsed since the arrival of the English in Ireland, and yet, in that short time, they gave abundant proofs of their unfitness for the mission, with which they pretended to charge themselves. Few were the years of their stay up to this, but they were years fruitful of much evil. Alas! the evil was only in the beginning. Men, when perhaps disposed to prepare for another world, were called on to defend the chastity of their daughters, the hearths of their fathers, and use the awful right of retaliation. Bishops may

<sup>m</sup> The bull directed, a few months after the council, to St. Laurence, proves that he returned to Ireland.

have met in Synod, and Sees may be consolidated and enriched, and laws may go forth, but the great problem for solution lay, in bringing about a state of things, which would render easy the observance of these laws. The problem remained unsolved. There was a class of men in the heart of this country, who, as long as a native chief or prince had a sod of land which he could call his own, knew no rest. Often, though a resolve on forbearance was formed in the morning, before evening provocation was given to exercise the dreadful right of retribution. They were times of confusion, and trouble, and plunder.

About 1180, from a spirit of plunder and self aggrandizement, one of the most famous, of the many famous relics in Ireland, was taken away. In all ages, veneration of sacred relics formed a part of Catholic worship. The early Christians gathered up, with scrupulous care, the bones of an Ignatius or a Polycarp. The Irish Church not only recognized the lawfulness, the usefulness of the practice, but showed a characteristic tendency to the veneration of any of the memorials left by her great saints. It may have been the "Cathach" of St. Columba, or the bell of St. Senanus, the "Canon Phadruig," or any other relic ; but it always appealed powerfully to the religious feelings. Domestic or national feelings, to a wonderful degree, were superinduced on the supernatural conviction. The binding nature of an oath on the Gospels, was as nothing, in presence of the obligation induced by the sacred relics. In 1143, the king of Meath, though under the protection of the relics, and the guarantees of Ireland, was taken prisoner by the king of Con-naught.\* The guarantees were, "the altar of Kiaran

\* Annals of the Four Masters.

with its relics, the shrine of Kiaran, called the ‘Orinach,<sup>o</sup> the Mathamtior,<sup>p</sup> the abbot and prior, and two out of every order in the Church, O’Dubthaigh, Archbishop of Connaught, successor of St. Patrick, and the ‘Staff of Jesus,’ the successor of St. Fechin, and bell of Fechin, and the boban of St. Kevin.” But the most famous relic was the Staff of Jesus. It was taken, in 1180, from Armagh to Dublin.<sup>q</sup> On the coming of St. Patrick, as apostle to Ireland, he brought a staff or staffs,<sup>r</sup> said by his biographers, to have been given in one of the islands of the Mediterranean sea, by an angel. Whether intended or not by the giver, to be used as a crozier, in all probability, it was turned to that use by the illustrious apostle. In such reverence was it held, and so emblematic of primatial power, that each usurper of the See of Armagh thought himself secure of jurisdiction, when, and only when, possessed of this sacred relic. Hence, when driven away by Malachy Archbishop of Armagh, Nigellus contrived to bring with him, the “Staff of Jesus.”—Even, in the days of St. Patrick, for purposes of adornment and preservation, it employed the skill of the most famous artists. In process of time, it was covered with gold, and gems, and precious stones.<sup>s</sup> It was held in the greatest veneration.<sup>t</sup> For

<sup>o</sup> A crozier covered with gold.

<sup>p</sup> The Gospel of St. Matthew.

<sup>q</sup> Black-book of Christ’s Church, Dublin, fol. 214—Hib. Expug., lib. II. ch. xviii—White-book of Christ’s Church—Annals of Innisfallen.

<sup>r</sup> There were several “Staffs of Jesus.” See list of the relics of St. Alban’s, and the book of “Obits of Christ Church,” edited for the Irish Archæological Society.

<sup>s</sup> St. Bernard’s Life of St. Malachy.

<sup>t</sup> Cambrensis Topograp. part iii. ch. 34.

the wonders which it performed, it was compared to the rod of Moses.<sup>u</sup> And with good reason ; for, not merely miracles in the physical order, but the conversion of the most blind and hardened were attributed to it. Health and life were given back at its touch. Floods were crossed, the greatest dangers were escaped through it. If the most inveterate foes were to be reconciled, if treaties were to be ratified, if the shield of protection were to be thrown over those doomed to destruction, the famous Staff of Jesus was called into requisition. The obligation, from touching the sacred Gospels, was as dust in the balance, against the responsibility supposed to be incurred by touching the "Staff of Jesus."<sup>v</sup> In 1314, O'Kelly, the more effectually to gain credit and debase the fidelity of the followers of Birmingham, swore on the sacred relic.<sup>w</sup> In 1529, no form of oath was deemed so likely to bind Gerald M'Shane, in England, than a touch of the sacred staff.<sup>x</sup> It appeared beyond the reach of human power to destroy it. At least, when other relics were destroyed, amid their ruins the sacred staff was found uninjured. This wonderful and venerable relic did not escape the plundering hands of Fitzadelm.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. lib. I. ch. 36—Colgan.

<sup>v</sup> Prene's Register, fol. 117.

<sup>w</sup> Campion, p. 121.

<sup>x</sup> State Papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

<sup>y</sup> Some place the removal of this Staff to a later date. See Lanigan, Vol. IV., &c.

### CHAPTER III.

IF left to itself, free from English interference, the Irish Church had reason to congratulate itself. But, so far from getting help to recover from the effects of wars and contact with Pagan northmen for two hundred years, and to exhibit itself without spot or wrinkle, that, still greater dangers came on it from the Anglo-Normans. The danger did not consist, in the distraction of feeling naturally resulting from trying stirring events, nor in the interruption to the sacred offices from notes of war, nor in the plundering and burning of Churches. Because, though these external aids be withdrawn for a time, still the spirit of religion can be strong in the hearts of the people. The greatest danger came, with some few exceptions, from the example of corrupt foreign ecclesiastics. Among these exceptions, may be numbered the successor of St. Laurence O'Toole in the see of Dublin, Archbishop Cumin. Before the lapse of ten years, the incontinence of the Anglo-Norman clergy appeared, not in occasional instances merely, but in hundreds.\* If ever there

\* St. Laurence sent 140 ecclesiastics, at one time, to Rome, for absolution from the sin of incontinency. Such a vice was not known to the Irish Church, before the coming of the English.—Surius' Life of St. Laurence.



were reason for looking to the purity of the Irish Church, it was at the present time. Accordingly, in the year 1186, a synod was held by Archbishop Cumin in Dublin.<sup>b</sup> Fifteen Bishops, and many abbots were present. The famous Gerald Barry, who was tutor to Prince John, attended. The Council opened, on the fourth Sunday in Lent. The canons drawn up at this synod, were chiefly of a rubrical character. 1° Priests were prohibited, from celebrating mass on a wooden altar according to an Irish custom. The altars, in all monasteries and baptismal Churches, were ordered to be of stone. And should a stone, not large enough to cover the platform of the altar, be not easily procured, then, a square and polished stone was ordered, which may be fixed in the middle of the altar ; and on which, the body of Christ may be consecrated. The altar-stone prescribed, should be ample enough to contain five crosses, and also the foot of the largest chalice. However, in chapels and oratories, where the use of a wooden altar may be unavoidable, the mass should be celebrated on a stone of the prescribed size, fixed in the wood. 2° Coverings on the platform of the altar, and a cloth covering the front and reaching to the ground, were ordered. The coverings were to be whole and clean. 3° The chalices, in Churches and Monasteries, were to be of gold and silver. In the poorer churches, however, when golden or silver chalices may not be had, pewter chalices were allowed. But cleanliness was to characterize all the chalices. 4° The Host, which represented the Lamb without spot, the "Alpha and Omega," was ordered to be white, and pure ; so that, the partakers of it may understand the neces-

<sup>b</sup> Lanigan, Vol. IV., &c.

sity of purifying, and feeding the soul, rather than the body. 5° Wine for consecration, should be so tempered with water, as not to be deprived by it, of the natural taste or color. 6° Cleanness, and fineness, and whiteness, were recommended in all the altar vestments, and coverings. 7° A lavatory of wood or stone so bored, that whatever was poured into it may pass into the earth, was recommended. Into this was to be poured the water, with which the priests' hands were washed after communion. 8° An immoveable font, in the middle of the church, or in such a place, that the paschal procession may move round it, was ordered. The material was to be of stone, or of wood lined with lead. Above, it was to contain a sort of reservoir, and it should be bored through to the bottom : and the water was to be conveyed by a pipe, from it, down into the earth. 9° The altar coverings, and vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, were to be burnt in the church. The ashes were to be floated in water, through the bore of the font, into the earth. 10° No vessel used in baptism, was ever to be turned to common uses. 11° Persons were prohibited from burying, under pain of excommunication, in a church-yard, unless it be established by documentary, or other undeniable testimony, that it had been consecrated by a Bishop, not only as a place of refuge, but as a place for burial. And, even in a place so consecrated, no one was to be buried without the presence of a priest. 12° There was a prohibition, against the celebration of divine service, in chapels built by laymen to the detriment of mother churches. 13° Since the clergy of Ireland, have always been remarkable, among other virtues, for chastity, and as it would be disgraceful to the Archbishop, to allow them

to be corrupted, through his negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers, and the example of a few incontinent men, he therefore forbad, under the penalty of losing both office, and benefice, any priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, from keeping a woman in his house, either under the pretext of necessary service, or any other pretext, unless she be a mother, sister, or such person, whose age may remove any suspicion of sin. 14° Under pain of losing benefices and office, simony was forbidden. 15° Ecclesiastics were forbidden to receive a benefice from a layman. And unless, after the third monition, such a benefice so obtained were renounced by the ecclesiastic, he was excommunicated, and deprived of said benefice for ever. 16° Bishops were forbidden to ordain the subject of another diocese, without commendatory letters from his Bishop, or from the Archdeacon: Without a certain title to a benefice, no person was to be promoted to Holy Orders. 17° No two, of the higher or Holy Orders, were to be conferred on one day. 18° All persons living in fornication, were to be compelled to contract lawful marriage. And whoever was born in fornication could neither be promoted to Holy Orders, nor be reckoned heir to father or mother, unless these were afterwards joined in wedlock. 19° Tithes to the mother churches, out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things, which yearly renew themselves, were ordered under pain of anathema incurred after the third monition. Those, who have been obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged to pay and punctually for the future. 20° All archers, and all bearers of arms of any sort, not for the defence of the country, but for plunder, shall, on every Sunday, be excommunicated in

life, with bell, book, and candle light, and at death, shall be deprived of christian burial." <sup>c</sup>

The reader will observe, that most of these Canons, were of a rubrical and ritual character. By looking into the prefatory matter prefixed to the Roman Missal, he will see them given substantially. Two churches may agree, in professing the same doctrine, and using the same ritual, and yet may differ in rubrics. Observance of the latter secures uniformity to the nicest shade. The rubrics regulate not only the article, but even the form of the article. The Irish Church adopted the ritual and rubrics of the Roman Church in the fifth century ; and as the rubrics and ritual of even Rome itself, underwent some changes since that time, according to circumstances and the need of the hour, so in the twelfth century, in some immaterial matters touching rubrics, the Irish and the Roman practices exhibited a slight difference. Not so with England.—Not fully converted till the sixth or seventh century, it borrowed its ritual and rubrics, from the improved or modified Roman form. Besides, there was a more active correspondence kept up between England, than between Ireland and Rome. Above all, no church in Europe, exhibited such a tenacity of those practices, which, though only first adapted to the circumstances of the age, were handed down as unchangeable deposits by its saintly founders, as did the Irish Church. On that account, it is not unlikely, that the rubrical canons of the Provincial Dublin Synod, were decreed, not so much to preserve, as to effect the minutest uniformity. The use of brazen and glass chalices obtained in Ireland. Nor was their use con-

<sup>c</sup> See Harris' Bishops of Dublin, Lanigan, Vol. IV.

fined to the Irish Church. The "blood of our Lord" was carried in a glass cup, by Exuperius.<sup>d</sup> The thirteenth, and sixteenth canons, in reference to the chastity of the clergy, and the ordination of clerics, were long before enacted in old Irish Synods.<sup>e</sup> Well, on the first day of the Dublin Synod, Archbishop Cumin preached on the Sacraments. On the second day, Albin O'Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglass, and afterwards Bishop of Ferns, addressed the Synod, and dwelt on the beauty and necessity of clerical continence. With regret he saw a violation of that virtue. And after attributing the violation to the bad example of the Welsh and English ecclesiastics, he wound up, by inveighing, with the freedom of an apostle, against the irregularities of the strangers. The charges were not denied by them. But, each began to reproach his neighbour; and, while each admitted the truth of the charge, he denied it was applicable to himself. The Archbishop, though an Englishman, was satisfied with the proofs, which were brought forward. The guilty were suspended from the discharge of ecclesiastical functions, and from the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues. Gerald Barry was invited by the Archbishop to preach on the third day. He agreed to the encomiums passed by Albin O'Mulloy on the chastity of the Irish clergy.<sup>f</sup> But, irritated at the sweeping censure passed on his own countrymen by O'Mulloy, he set himself to review, with severity, the conduct of the Irish ecclesiastics.

<sup>d</sup> St. Jerome, Ep. 5 ad Rusticium.

<sup>e</sup> See Lanigan, Vol. IV., 173.

<sup>f</sup> Gerald Barry. He calls the guilty, "Our Ecclesiastical Countrymen."—*De Rebus, a se gestis*, Part II. ch. 15.

Their strong sense of religion, their many virtues, and pre-eminently, the virtue of chastity, their unwearied attention to the divine offices, to reading, to prayer, their frugality at meals,<sup>a</sup> and abstinence from all food till dusk, and the recital of the divine offices, extorted his admiration and praise. But his praise was not unqualified. He censured their habits as too retiring, as not of a sufficiently active character. He charged them with drinking too much spirituous liquor. The charge, unlike what happened in reference to the charge made against, and in presence of the English, was not admitted. It was received with honest indignation. The bishop of Ferns on being asked what he thought of Gerald's discourse, said, "that he was strongly tempted to fly in his face, or make a harsh reply."<sup>b</sup> Indeed, without a desire to retort, Gerald may have alluded to the drinking propensities of the Irish. To him accustomed, perhaps, to drink taken at intervals and during dinner, whatever was taken after dinner, and without food, on that account may have appeared excessive.<sup>c</sup> At all events, some of the ecclesiastics, in the opinion of the prejudiced Gerald Barry, were without blemish, even on the score of sobriety.

Having seen, by the thirteenth canon of the Dublin council, and by the challenge thrown out by Albin O'Mulloy, and by the admission of even Gerald Barry himself, that chastity was characteristic of the Irish clergy, one should feel startled at the assertion, that

<sup>a</sup> So rigidly was this severe rule of the old Irish orders observed, that some actually died from want of food. See the last chapter of this work.

<sup>b</sup> Harris' Bishops of Ferns.

<sup>c</sup> See Dr. Lanigan, Vol. IV. 268.

ecclesiastical celibacy was not of obligation in the Irish Church. In Dr. Lanigan's four learned volumes, on the early ages of that Church, the only serious weakness betrayed by him, was in dealing with an objection against clerical celibacy.<sup>1</sup> But, before I bring forward the objection, and its answer, with the permission of the reader, I shall, for the information of the general student, give positive proofs of the prevalence of ecclesiastical celibacy in the Irish Church. Taking for granted, what I shall prove in another place, that St. Patrick received his mission from Rome, it should follow, as a corollary from a principle, that the views of the Irish did not differ from those of the Roman Church, on the obligation of celibacy. As may be proved, and as I shall prove, by and by, Irish missionaries, before going to preach the gospel to other nations, got the mission, and blessing from Rome. No doubt was ever entertained, of the soundness of the views of St. Columbanus, in France and Italy; of St. Gall in Switzerland; of St. Columba among the northern Picts, on ecclesiastical celibacy. And yet, the smallest deviation from the Gallican liturgy in St. Columbanus, brought noise about his ears. The rather free tone he assumed, in addressing the Pontiff, on the famous "three chapters," did not escape censure. The learned Virgilius, an Irishman, because his notions did not square with those, of his Archbishop, on the sphericity of the earth, raised a world of trouble against himself. But never, however, was a suspicion whispered, against the purity in practice, or doctrine, of the Irish missionaries. It is a well known fact, that St. Augustine employed

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XXXII., Vol. IV., p. 364.

those missionaries in the conversion of England. Now, if the Irish Church did not agree with the centre of unity, on the most important point of general discipline, does it stand to reason, that her children would have been employed, to the knowledge, and with the sanction of Rome, in the work of conversion ?

Wherever concubinage, or a relaxation of ecclesiastical celibacy crept in, not without noise and opposition, was purity restored to the Church. The whole Irish Church rang with the cry of discussion, and fierce opposition, when there had been question of merely changing the day, on which was celebrated the feast of Easter. In this question, too, the sacrifice of the passions was not at stake. Without the faintest murmur, without a casual note from a chronicler, could we reasonably, possibly suppose a law to be instituted, after the age of St. Patrick, which threw a restraint on the fondest, fiercest passion of our nature ? And then, during the wars, and invasions from the Pagan Northmen, when the bonds of discipline were relaxed, the sanctuary profaned, the cloister deluged with blood, who would think, that this could be a time to introduce ecclesiastical celibacy ? However, in the twelfth century, and after, we find clerical continency spoken of, as having been always characteristic of the Irish Church. Besides, there remain the positive decrees of early synods, on this matter. A canon, drawn up in the first half of the seventh century, by Cummián, says, "If a cleric or monk, after consecrating himself to God, shall return to his secular habit, or marry a wife, he shall do penance for ten years : Three of which he shall spend on bread and water, and shall, ever after,



abstain from the use of marriage.”\* Look, again, to the scale of penances graduated by Saint Columbanus, who lived in the sixth century. In the twelfth canon, he speaks of those, who had wives before ordination—“If any cleric or deacon, or a person of any ecclesiastical dignity, who, after his conversion, again knows his wife, let him be assured, that he has committed adultery, and sinned as grievously, as if he had been a cleric from his youth, and as if he had sinned with a strange woman ; because he sinned after taking a vow, by the violation of the vow. Therefore let him do penance, on bread and water for seven years.”<sup>1</sup> He who will not feel the force of these canons, is not to be reasoned with. While a belief in the invocation of saints, in sacramental confession, in the sacrifice of the mass, in transubstantiation, in the supremacy of Rome, in the superior homage due to the Immaculate Virgin, in purgatory, when a belief, in fact, in every other point of Catholic doctrine, is read in every page of the early history of the Irish Church, should we not deem the Catholic system incomplete without the insertion of ecclesiastical celibacy ? Of the prevalence of such celibacy, in the Irish Church, there exists an irresistible mass of evidence. But, even in the absence of any direct evidence, one could no more doubt, that ecclesiastical celibacy followed all other points of Catholic doctrine and discipline, than, because a single stone was missing, he could doubt of the style of the entire building.

However, I recur to the objection, on account of

\* *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. XII.—Dupin.

<sup>1</sup> Tom. XII. p. 21, *de mensura pœnitentiarum*—Dupin, *Biblioth. Patrum*.

which I have said so much on celibacy. It is found in the sixth canon of the synod said to be held by St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserninus.<sup>m</sup>—"If a cleric, from the door-keeper up to the priest, appear without his tunic, and do not cover the indelicacy and nakedness of his body, or if his hair be not shorn according to the Roman tonsure, and if his wife walk forth without the veil on her head, let them be despised by the people, and separated from the Church." A monk named Abedoc, with the consent of his abbot, Haelhucah, transcribed a number of canons, which were said to be drawn up, either by St. Patrick individually, or by him with the advice of others, or at a synod over which he presided. Some of these attributed to St. Patrick, are evidently to be referred to a later period. They exhibit anachronisms. But supposing the authenticity of the canon in question ; its integrity may well be questioned. The learned D'Acherry, who gives a collection of the Irish canons, has not the slightest allusion to the wife of the ecclesiastic.<sup>n</sup> In his prefatory remarks, the learned editor says, "The collection of Irish canons is full of solecisms, as being transcribed by a man altogether ignorant

<sup>m</sup> Ware, *Opuscula S. Patricii*, p. 42.

"Quicumque clericus, ab ostiario, usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris, et nuditatem non tegat, et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sunt ; et uxor ejus, si non velato capiti, ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnentur et ab ecclesia separentur." Dr. Lanigan says, that the words "usque ad sacerdotem," may include, not the Priests, but the deacons and inferior ministers.

<sup>n</sup> Achery, edited by D. la Barre, *Fol. Ed. Vol. I.*, p. 492, T.C.D. He merely says, "If any cleric, from the door-keeper up to the priest, be without a tunic, and do not cover the nakedness of his body, and wear not his hair according to the Roman manner, let him be separated from the church."

of the Latin language ; the words are barbarous, and often inverted, and sometimes even the last word of a sentence is joined to the following word. One letter or word is often put for another word. Many sentences are altogether incomplete ; so that, for all these reasons we cannot guess at, much less be certain of the meaning of the canons." But supposing the authenticity<sup>o</sup> and integrity of the canon, in reference to the cleric's wife, I see in it nothing to contradict the canons and practices of the Irish Church in regard to ecclesiastical celibacy. On the contrary, the mention of the veiled woman in the circumstances, proves the obligation of chastity. By the preaching of St. Patrick, Ireland became, on the whole, a christian nation. The harvest was great, and the labourers were few. The church, in legislation, looking to her contingent necessities, and to the merits of individuals even at the present day, provides, that if the wife be dead, or enter religion, the husband may be

<sup>o</sup> The learned Dr. Lanigan, cannot prove the canon to be unauthentic to my mind, merely because it makes mention of the tonsure. He is right in saying, that the Roman tonsure, *as an ecclesiastical rite*, was not, at all, binding in the days of St. Patrick. But the tonsure of the hair, according to the Roman fashion, was recommended, in opposition to the *barbarian* fashion. The latter had the hair long (so too had the Irish fashion), the former had it short. A tonsure of the hair, as a civil action, was recommended, to avoid an indecency, an impropriety. But, the Roman tonsure, as a strictly ecclesiastical rite, and as afterwards understood, was not known when St. Patrick came to Ireland. The tonsure first used in Ireland, as an ecclesiastical rite, was the Greek. Because, Gaul, whence St. Patrick went to Rome before coming to Ireland, received the Greek tonsure from Eastern missionaries. By this, the hair was clipped, from ear to ear, in front. — St. Jerome ad Nepot—Thomassinus, *ancienne et nouvelle discipline*, Part I. liv. I, ch. xxxvii, p. 715—Bingham—Usher's *Primordia*.

promoted to Holy Orders.<sup>p</sup> How much more necessary was it, to have this canon acted on, in the infant state of the Irish Church! When the spirit of devotion drove the wife to the religious life, a spirit of zeal sent the husband to the church's ministers. Synesius, Bishop of Alexandria, represented such a class. Looking over the canons enacted at the Council of Tours, in the year 565, we find them drawn up by Saints Germanus of Paris, and Pretextatus of Tours.<sup>q</sup> The twelfth canon stated, that "a married bishop ought always to be accompanied by clerics, even in his chamber, and so separated from his former wife, that her servants even, can have no communication with his servants. The priest, deacon, or sub-deacon found in company with his wife, shall be under an interdict for a year." Now, then, if such bright examples of clerical celibacy, and its upholders, at the Council of Tours, as was done in numberless other councils, legislated for a married bishop, who was bound to chastity, though probably living in the same house with the wife, how can we infer, against the clearest canons, that the single mention of a wife veiled, argues a non-observance of ecclesiastical celibacy in the Irish Church? <sup>r</sup> The veiled wife meant the consecrated Nun. Because, it was not customary in Ireland, or indeed in the Northern Countries, for the females to be veiled. If it were in a church merely, on some solemn occasion, the veil were prescribed, there

<sup>p</sup> Ex Cap Conjugatus, de Convers. Conjug.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. V. of Councils, p. 857.

<sup>r</sup> By the Councils of Eliberis (can. 33), of Agatho (can. 9), by the first council of Orange (can. 23), by the fifth council of Carthage (can. 3), by the first council of Mascon (can. 11). wives were ordered to separate from husbands, who were ordained.

may be room for discussion. But when, in her ordinary actions, in her hours of recreation, the female, contrary to the usual custom of females in Ireland, had to appear veiled, there can be no doubt, that it meant a religious profession.

Nor can it be said, that the use of the veil, in the consecration of nuns, was not known in St. Patrick's time.\* So far from it, that "taking or being covered with the veil," in ecclesiastical language, meant a religious profession. St. Ambrose,<sup>†</sup> speaking of virgins, says, "I cannot deny, that much caution should be used by the Church, lest a girl be rashly veiled." Optatus blames the Donatists, for making the virgins throw off their veils. "Now," he says, "it is very foolish and vain, to make the virgins take from their heads the veils, marks of a vow long since made, in order to make them do penance."<sup>‡</sup> The Pontiffs Innocent,<sup>§</sup> and Gelasius,<sup>||</sup> used the expression "covered with the veil," as synonymous with religious profession. Such, too, had been the language of the councils.\* And without travelling into other countries, we can see in the Irish Church, that the veil was in use, in the consecration of a religious. In a hymn written in honor of St. Bridget, the sacred poet says, that "*the veiled nun* drives over the Curragh."<sup>††</sup> Even one of the famous Irish canons,

\* Academy of Inscriptions, tom. v. 173, duodec.

† Temere veletur, lib. iii. p. 112, de Velandis Virginibus.

‡ Contra Parmenionem, lib. vi. 96.

§ Epis. 2 ad Victic, c. 13.    ¶ Ep. 9 ad Episc. Lucanæ, c. 14.

\* Council of Agde, canon 19. Council of Saragossa, canon 8.

† In caillech neireb cunnech—Liber hymnorum, p. 67, Note by Dr. Todd, who thinks, that the word "caillech," or nun, was, derived from the cucullus, or hood, which she wore.

says, "Let not virgins be veiled before their twelfth year."<sup>a</sup> The use of the veil, then, in the early Irish Church, was known, and understood to mean a religious profession. In this sense, too, must, the "veiling of the head" in the so called canon of St. Patrick, be understood. Nor does any inconvenience arise from the fact, that the woman is represented as walking abroad. Because, it was not necessary for a religious profession, that the female should have observed a conventual enclosure. "In the first ages of the Church," says Fleury, "virgins consecrated to God, lived, for the most part, with their parents, never stirring out unless to go to Church, where they had a place, separated from other women."<sup>a</sup> His opinion is borne out by councils of the Church. In the year 633, nearly two hundred years after the synod of St. Patrick, a general council was held at Toledo. It was composed of sixty-two bishops, of whom five were metropolitans, and all presided over by St. Isidore of Seville. Now the fifty-sixth canon ordained, that "women taking the habit from the Bishop, need not enter a convent; and they were religious to all intents and purposes, and could not marry."<sup>b</sup> The so called canon of St. Patrick, then is reconcileable with, and confirmatory of the other Irish canons, such as the following, on the celibacy of the clergy:—"If a cleric or monk, after consecrating himself to God, shall know his wife, he is guilty of adultery, because he sinned against his vow. Let him, then, do penance, for ten years on bread and water."

<sup>a</sup> Spicilegium of D'Acherry, who conjectures, that we should read, "Quadragesimam" for "duodecimam."—Vol. 9, ch. II.

<sup>a</sup> Mœurs des Chret., n. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Tom. V. Councils, p. 1702.

I have pursued this matter further, I conceive, than is consistent with the general plan of this work. But when I find, that even in the present day, men looked up to as oracles, in matters connected with Irish Church History,<sup>c</sup> maintain the marriage of ecclesiastics even in the fifteenth century, I am tempted to lay down a principle for the solution of another class of objections, against the celibacy of the priesthood. It may not be denied, that in any age of the Irish, or any church, there may be a disregard of the obligation of the vow of chastity. But on the whole, when we meet with mention of a married Bishop, or Archdeacon, or Prior, though called such, they must be understood as no more than laymen, and as not in holy orders. The Archdeacons or Erenachs were those, who were employed to farm the church lands. For the most part, each church, in fact every church, unless its rector became a

<sup>c</sup> Rev. Dr. Reeves maintains, that John Cely, an English Benedictine monk, and afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor, was married in the fifteenth century. The Anglo-Irish Bishop had been guilty of irregularities. On that account, the Primate wrote to him and to the Pope; to the former, in a spirit of remonstrance; to the latter, in the spirit of a judicial accuser. In writing to the Bishop, and speaking of a female in question, the Primate says, "whom you formerly knew as a concubine, but who now is married."—Prene's Register. Dr. Reeves says, that she had been married to the Bishop. But if he were candid enough to quote *Swayne's Register*, he should acknowledge that she is said to be the wife (alterius) of another. Besides, Dr. Reeves should know, that in the Catholic Church, orders were an annulling impediment to matrimony.—Council of Lateran, can. 21, cap de Presbyteris "Labbe con. X. coll. 899—Gratian Cap "Quæ Christo," X. Ep. of Innocent. The crime of the Bishop was simple concubinage at first; afterwards it was adultery—See Reeves, p. 218, but before him read *Swayne's Register*, which makes Alice Letys the wife, not of the Bishop, but of another (alterius).

collector of the ecclesiastical revenues, had an Erenach. The Archdeacon or Erenach was not in holy orders.<sup>d</sup> No wonder, then, that frequent, hourly mention was made of the son of the Erenach : because he was not in holy orders. With regard to Abbots, and Bishops, and Priors, the same may be said. These occupied, or usurped the lands of the Church. Either, because they were descendants of those, who originally endowed the churches, or called in to defend the church property from encroachments, in process of time, they possessed themselves of the episcopal and monastic lands—of course, to satisfy the people, and lay a flattering unction to their own souls, these laymen hired a minister for the discharge of the spiritual functions. But the inheritor, or usurper of the temporalities, without any title to the name, was styled an ecclesiastical dignitary. Thus, in the Annals of the Four Masters, O'Reilly was called the son of the Prior. The latter, at the same time, was no ecclesiastic.<sup>e</sup> Let us hear Gerald Barry speak of abbots, in the twelfth century—"Many churches," he says, "through Ireland, have a lay abbot. This arose from a wicked custom.\* \* \* They leave only the offerings to the clergy, and cause themselves to be *unduly* called abbots. They impudently possessed themselves of the church lands, which they leave to their children."<sup>f</sup> One see, and only one, presented a succession of married Bishops. That see was Armagh.

<sup>d</sup> Sir John Davis, Usher on Erenachs, lib. ii. Dr. O'Donovan says, that the Airchinuech, "Erenach," was not in holy orders, and that he was a different person from the Airchindech.

<sup>e</sup> Ad. an. 1595—66, note y. J. O'D.

<sup>f</sup> Itinerary of Wales, ch. 4.



The see was in possession of one family during fifteen successions, for two hundred years. Armagh was exposed to, and suffered from the ravages of the Danes. It was taken in the years 890, 893, 919, was burnt in 914 and in 931, and was plundered in 941. Confusion favored usurpation—"Well, from about the year 920, down for 200 years," says St. Bernard, "there were eight married men, Bishops, but *not in orders*, before Archbishop Celsus; and the practice deserved death."<sup>g</sup> Furthermore, Amalgaid and Moltule at the same time, are mentioned Bishops of Armagh.<sup>h</sup> During the incumbency of Dublaeth, the annals mention,<sup>i</sup> Hugh O'Forrey, as Archbishop of Armagh—O'Boil is mentioned as Archbishop of Armagh, while it was occupied by Donald. Why was this? Protestant historians answer, "that the second set of Bishops spoken of, was required for the discharge of the episcopal office, as the usurpers were only laymen."<sup>j</sup> The mention, then, of a Bishop's, Prior's, Abbot's, or Archdeacon's son, does not, at all, affect the law of ecclesiastical celibacy. I have no difficulty then in subscribing to the opinion, of the most accurate and profound Irish scholar, perhaps that ever lived. "You can scarcely open an ancient Gaedhlic manuscript, without meeting one, or more pieces, in prose or verse, illustrative of the great principles, particular doctrines, and moral applications of the christian religion, as brought hither from Rome, and preached in Erin by St. Patrick, in perfect connection with, and submission to the never-failing chair of Peter."<sup>k</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Life of St. Malachy, ch. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Annals of Ulster.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>j</sup> Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 54.

<sup>k</sup> MSS. Materials of Irish History, p. 354, by Eugene O'Curry.

At the close of the Provincial synod, Archbishop Cumin wound up, by hurling excommunication against all those, who resisted the king's authority. If all, however, were like him, English as he was, while the Church would have been holier, the country would have been happier. But they were not : nor did the worth of the Archbishop save him annoyance, either from ecclesiastics, who came to Ireland for promotion, or from adventurers who came to plunder. Valois De Hamois, who came in 1195 as the representative of royalty, did not form an exception. He seized the ecclesiastical property of the See of Dublin. He would not allow the See of Leighlin to be filled. But the Archbishop of Dublin was not wanting to his duty. He would not tamely submit to a sacrilegious invasion of his revenue. And when he could not bring the governor De Hamois to a sense of duty, he fled the country. Before, however, he left the country, the sacred images, in the Church, were draped in mourning, the crucifixes were crowned with thorns, and the sacred passion was represented. Miraculous effects were said to have followed. As a work of the divine displeasure, at the outrage offered to the Church, the body of the image was said to have been covered with sweat, and blood to have flowed from the side.<sup>1</sup> But while Christ, as was believed, interested himself visibly, in the cause of the Archbishop, he did not fail addressing himself to Christ's vicegerent. Innocent the third, who then sat in the Papal chair, administered a sharp rebuke to Prince John. This, as well as the complaint made by the Archbishop to the king, led to the recall of Valois.

<sup>1</sup> Leland, B. I. ch. 5.

Even the prince was found no less troublesome, and disrespectful, than the most lawless adventurers. The chapter of Leighlin elected one John as Bishop. He was confirmed by the Archbishop of Cashel, but he would not be consecrated. The Archbishop of Dublin was in banishment. The Archbishop of Cashel, represented the matter to the Pope, who ordered both the consecration of John to the Bishopric of Leighlin, and the recall of Archbishop Comyn from banishment. And, as though Pope Innocent feared, that the newly consecrated Bishop may be annoyed, or excommunicated by some creature of royalty, the said new Bishop, unless for some manifest grievous crime, was put beyond the reach of excommunication.<sup>m</sup> The cause of the church triumphed. John of Leighlin was recognized, as Bishop; Archbishop Comyn was recalled from Normandy; and what was no less consoling, Valois De Hamois repented and atoned for his outrages. He granted to the See of Dublin, in free alms, twenty carucates of land.<sup>n</sup> In another quarter too, Innocent

<sup>m</sup> Leland, B. I. ch. 5. ad an 1197—Epistles of Innocent III. 361, ed Beluze. The Pope alludes to the possibility of disappointment of John in some expectations. The expectations, probably, referred to the Lordship of Ireland. Harris, (p. 455, Bishops), makes the letter of Pope Innocent, to be written in 1199. Leland places it in 1199. Hamois according to Dr. Lanigan, was withdrawn in 1198. After the withdrawal of Hamois, the annoyance was continued by the Prince, who brought on himself, a second rebuke. However there may have been only one rebuke administered by Pope Innocent, to Prince John.

<sup>n</sup> According to Gerald Barry quoted by Mason in his Parochial Survey, eight carucates went to form a plough-land. The great kindness of Prince John, a short time before this, to Archbishop Comyn, is a further commentary on the text, "place not your trust in princes." It is said, that he granted Glendaloch to the Arch-diocese of Dublin, and

III. watched over the freedom of the Irish Church. The Bishop of Raphoe resigned. Pope Innocent, seeing that the resignation was not according to due formalities, and fearing that it may not have been voluntary, ordered him to resume his functions for a while, and then, after due form, accepted his resignation.

As a matter of course, the unworthy conduct of the stranger, was imitated by the native.\* The religious sentiment was weakened. The native ecclesiastics took advantage of the confusion of the times. They did not borrow the grosser crimes of their foreign brethren in the ministry. But an undisciplined ambitious spirit was fostered. This spirit showed itself, in an unseemly scramble for the Bishopric of Ross. One Daniel, by means of forged letters, got himself consecrated at Rome, Bishop of Ross. After some time, Florence and another, the initial of whose name was E., both monks of Ross, went to Rome, each to assert his respective claim to the same Bishopric. The Pope referred the matter to the Archbishop of Cashel, and to O'Heney Bishop of Killaloe. They decided against Daniel. In the meantime, Pope Celestine died. His successor, Pope Innocent IV., took up the matter. Daniel again went to Rome. He endeavoured to impress his holi-

that the Archbishop of Cashel confirmed the grant. It ran thus, "*Ita scilicet cum Cathedralem Ecclesiam de Glendaloch cum contigerit vacare, et Episcopus Dubliniensis Episcopatum tenebit in manu sua, absque omni reservatione; et quod ipse Episcopus de Glendaloch, capellatus si Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, et vicarius.*" Harris's Ware's Bishops, 377. The authenticity of this document is much doubted.

\* In 1180, Donchal plundered Innisfallen, "the treasury of every thing valuable; and many of the clergy were slain by M'Carthy. But the vengeance of God overtook M'Carthy."—Archdall.

ness, and successfully that the King of Cork, and the Dean of Ross, from unworthy motives opposed his promotion. He stated, that the opposition of the former, arose from the non-payment of a sum of money to the King of Cork, promised by a friend of Daniel ; that the opposition of the Dean of Ross, sprung from the unwillingness, which himself showed in promoting an unworthy friend of the Dean. On the strength of this representation, the Pope wrote to the Prince, and to the Dean, and ordered them to recognize Daniel as Bishop. This made it necessary for Florence to go, again, to Rome. He put his case as strongly as possible. At last, the matter was devolved on the Archbishop of Cashel and on the Bishop of Killaloe. Their decision condemned the other competitors, and confirmed the election of Florence.<sup>p</sup>

Already, the reader must have seen, that the pretended reformation was not brought about by the stranger. Nor, indeed, was it in the nature of things, that such could have been the case. To all human appearances, all means were adopted, to produce a contrary result. Unhappily, by their bad example, the invaders made themselves too odious, to allow aught of good about them, to be imitated. From their royal master, down to the strong-armed archer, all, with scarcely an exception, while only anxious about carving out a fortune for themselves, were thoroughly indifferent to the welfare of the Church. King Henry, who was accessory to the murder of St. Thomas A'Becket ; who, in the year he came to reform the Irish Church, kept on hands, one Archbishopric, five Bishoprics, and three

<sup>p</sup> Harris' Bishops of Ross.

Abbeys ; who in anger, was a lion, and chewed straw like a madman ; who paid no regard to the obligation of an oath, and scarcely ever, forgave those, whom he hated—such was the head of the reforming missionaries in Ireland.<sup>a</sup> John De Courcey, who 1178, and 1189, plundered Armagh, and in 1199 burnt every church, and house in it ;<sup>r</sup> Fitzadelm, who plundered St. Patrick's Church in Armagh in 1179 ;<sup>s</sup> William of Worcester, who, in 1184, ravaged Armagh for six days with an army ; Henry de Montmorisco, who, in cold blood, hurled scores of individuals from the rock of Carrick ; Philip of Worcester, who was distinguished by cruelty and oppression ; M'Murrough, who was the close ally of the English, and who died impenitent ; Hamo de Valois, who robbed the Church of Dublin ; De Lacy, who plundered Clommacnois, who had De Courcey seized, while on his knees on Good Friday in pilgrimage, and whose profanation of a monastery, as well as other crimes brought upon him a violent death ; Strongbow, who according to the Irish Annalists, was the greatest tyrant, since the days of Turgesius, and who died full of remorse, smitten by the saints of God ; William Hail, who spared not a church, and wasted the whole island in 1179—such men were the prominent characters, who figured as missionaries to the Irish Church, in the last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>t</sup> The Irish Annalists represent them, as heathenish in their conduct to churches. Nor do the strange *ecclesiastics*, appear to

<sup>a</sup> Gerald Barry, Hib. Expug. ch. 45. Madox, 209—12. Peter of Blois.

<sup>r</sup> Archdall.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Leland, B. I. ch. 5. Harris' Ware's Bishops, 455. Liber Munerum Gesta Anglorum, p. 52. Archdall.

have earned a much higher character. Perhaps, considered as ecclesiastics, they were much more despicable. While they entertained the highest idea of their own importance, they regarded the native clergy with contempt. Pride, immorality, ambition, treachery,<sup>u</sup> were laid to their charge. Instead of breathing the mild spirit of Jesus, they displayed a warlike disposition.<sup>v</sup> Nothing however, perhaps will give us a more lively picture of the state of the Church, and of the results of the mission of the stranger in Ireland, than what is said, by the tutor of Prince John, and the panegyrist of the invasion :—"The cathedral churches mourn," says he, "having been robbed of those lands, and estates given by the piety of former ages. They were robbed by those, who came over to Ireland. And so far were we, from conferring further favors on the Church, in our new principality, that, having taken away its lands, we rather abrogated its dignities and privileges."<sup>w</sup> The adventurers were not however, un-mixedly bad—On the contrary, in their pride, and might, and predominating thirst for plunder and adventure, they were more tolerable, perhaps, than other races. Side by side with the greatest irreligion, were often found the strongest faith and tenderest devotion. While they were careful, to respect departed saints,

<sup>u</sup> To prevent De Courcey in Ulster, from being attacked by the Irish, a friar was sent by the English, to deceive them.—Leland, B. I. ch. 4.

<sup>v</sup> Strongbow, on his march to Carlow, was much harassed by O'Ryan. But Nicholas, a monk, drew his bow, and took down O'Ryan. (Ib.) True Christian missionaries, preferred being armed with a crucifix, to the carrying bow and arrow.

<sup>w</sup> Hib. Expug, Preface, B ii. ch. 35.

they persecuted living saints.\* They did not exhibit the full religious spirit, which characterized their ancestors, but they showed as much goodness, as could be expected from men, who came determined to rob, and who effectually did so.

But from images of war, it is pleasant to turn, at this time, to a scene, which opens on us, like a heavenly vision. I allude to the solemn translation, of the remains of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and of St. Columbkille. Some think the matter, no better than a mere farce, got up by the conqueror of Ulster, John De Courcey, to reconcile the minds of the people to conquest, and to win their affections.† Of all men, De Courcey was not a man of expediency.‡ Least of all, could it be said, that the remains of the three saints were not in Down. It must, indeed, be admitted that some, from a desire to support a fanciful theory, or comparison, deny, that there can be any certainty, as to where St. Patrick lay.§ However, a constant tradition

\* Agreeably to the bulls of Clement VIII. and of Urban VIII. the appellation of "saint or blessed" to any person not canonized or beatified by the Church, is understood, in the sense of the authors who used it; and for any thing under the name of a miracle not approved of by the same Church, no other faith is demanded, than human belief.

† Dr. O'Donovan, followed by Dr. Reeves.

‡ All of us, are familiar with the feats performed by him, as was generally believed,—his laying twelve men dead, with the arm of a cross, when set on, while going through the stations bare-footed, on Good Friday,—his cleaving a helmet, by a stroke of his sword, declaring if he missed his aim, a resolve to cut off the heads of King Philip and of King John. The story in all its details, may not be true, but the tradition of his valor, and unsophisticated nature, is unquestionable.—See Hanmer's and Marlboro's Chronicles.

§ Nennius and Tirechan, in order to establish a likeness, between St. Patrick and Moses, say, that there is no certainty, as to where



in all ages, even of those whose interest it was to deny the matter, points to his resting place, as in Down.<sup>b</sup> Towards the close of the ninth century, owing to the ravages of the Danes, the remains of St. Bridget and St. Columba, together with St. Patrick's, were found deposited, in different tombs, in Down.<sup>c</sup> Very probably they were brought thither, not because Down was quite exempt from the descent of the Northmen, but because tradition told, that St. Patrick was buried there. The first burial place of St. Columba, was in Iona; and that of St. Bridget, was in Kildare. But, because St. Patrick's remains were in Down, thither too, were brought the remains of St. Bridget and Columbkille. Even Armagh acquiesced in that belief. And as the Bishop of Down, was a chief actor in the translation of the relics, it is hard to suppose, that he too, could lend himself to a piece of sacrilegious jugglery, for a political result. In 1651, the Primate Mey, requested Nicholas the fifth, Pope, to provide a fit Bishop for Down and Connor, in honor of St. Patrick, whose remains, with those of St. Bridget, and St. Columba, were there deposited. Nor, a few years after the occur-

they were buried.—Usher's Prim. p. 462. has the following lines:—

“Currite languentes, Dune, piscina movetur,

Corpora, vel mentes ægrotas, ipsa medetur.”

<sup>b</sup> In 1372, the following lines of O'Dugan show the tradition and belief, in reference to the resting place of the three saints:—

“From Dundaleth-glass of the Cassocks; It is the royal cemetery of Erin, without any need in gain, there, a town wherein the clay of Columba was covered, In the same grave was buried, Bridget the victory of females: and as we have them, every grave, Patrick of Macha this great grave.”

<sup>c</sup> In 877, the remains of St. Columba, those of St. Bridget in 835, were removed to Down.—Annals of Ulster.

rence, does what Gerald Barry says to the effect, that John De Courcey brought about the translation of the relics, offer any difficulty. For, it only means, that he co-operated with the Bishop of Down. Besides, the translation is said, to have been the result of inspiration.<sup>d</sup>

For a long time, the remains of the three famous saints, Patrick, Bridget and Columba, were deposited in Down. To find out the precise spot, in which they lay, occupied the attention of Malachy Bishop of Down. It was the object of his daily thoughts, and prayers, and nightly dreams. But, at one time, while praying, rather late at night, a ray of light of a preternatural sort, attracted his attention. It moved and played most significantly over a certain portion of the floor of the Cathedral. He marked the spots. Excavations were made. The remains were found. Having secured the co-operation of John De Courcey, Bishop Malachy wrote to Pope Urban, in order to the solemn translation of the relics. Cardinal Vivian was sent to preside. The remains were exhumed on the ninth of June. A solemn procession was formed. Fifteen Bishops, and a numerous train of Abbots and Monks, headed by the Legate, carrying the remains processionally deposited them, in three different coffins, in the fittest part of the Cathedral.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Distinct. ch. 18, part 3.

<sup>e</sup> A distich, in the *Florilegium* of Messingham, p. 208, tells us, that they were put in one tomb. Usher. Stanihurst, *Vita Sti Patricii*. The hymn in Laud's, for the translation, in the seventeenth century, ran thus—

1.

Sacræ, Patrici, Brigidæ,  
Columba, decus Insulæ,  
Ossa pie dum colimus,  
Votis favete Supplicum.

2.

Non illa quanquam, tristibus,  
Imum radacta in pulverem,  
Dudum sepulchris lateant,  
Divina virtus deserat.

A love for monastic institutions, from the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, strongly marked the Irish character. To such a degree, did it manifest itself, that, writers speaking of the early Irish Church, compare it, for its numerous monasteries, to the Thebaid swarming with religious, or to the banks of the Nile. Up to the coming of the English, this monastic sentiment was strongly developed. But naturally, from the confusion of the times, and from comparative poverty, being shorn of their dominions, the native princes were less able to indulge a religious feeling, in that direction. At the same time, religion viewed in relation to monastic foundations, suffered less, than in other respects. Because, what was wanting to the means of the native devotee, was eked out, by the religious, or repenting disposition of the stranger. These monastic institutions, in the founding of which, the stranger had a large share, were of great importance to the church. Useful, perhaps necessary, in all times, they were peculiarly so then. They supplied a want felt then, more than at other times. They held out the example of brotherly love, to abate the fierce hatred, with which the native and the stranger, naturally regarded each other. They were fit nurseries for supplying the Sees with Bishops; and while they were

## 3.

*Sed sancta presenti favet,  
Impletque templa numine.  
Sed et futuræ spiritus  
Post secla servat gloriæ.*

## 4.

*Hinc ille, qui nostris latet  
Cinis sub aris conditus*

*Ægris medetur efficax  
Torquet fugatque dæmones.*

## 5.

*Sit, summa, Christi, laus tibi  
Acutus judex seculi  
Cum patre et almo spiritu  
In seculorum secula—Amen.*

calculated to correct any excess of national prejudice, they tended to the developement of the intellectual, and moral qualities. They afforded means of atoning, in some way, for the injury done to religion; and threw open an asylum to the gentle unfit to struggle with those rude times, and to the guilty who were weary, and wished to be penitent and at rest. The founding of such religious houses proved, what I advanced before, that the same persons, who martyred living saints, were often tender in their devotion, to their patron, and other saints; that those who pillaged some religious houses were, perhaps for that very reason, munificent in their donations to others.<sup>1</sup> Strangers and natives founded them, and appreciated their advantage and beauty. They viewed them under a religious, and poetic aspect. The very names of the houses prove it. They were for them, "Mellifont,"<sup>2</sup> Abbeys of the "Grace of God," of the "Rosied Valley," of the "Vale of God," of the "River of God," of the "Yoke of God," of the "Camp of God," of the "Living Fountain," of "Glan-

<sup>1</sup> King John, who kept the see of Ferns for years vacant, for the sake of the revenues, gave to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, one-tenth of the revenues and customs, which used to be received from publicans for beer and mead. Besides, it got exemption from all exactions, and, unless what concerned the crown, power to hear pleas and complaints. In granting lands to be held by knight service, the King reserved the donation of Bishoprics and abbeys.—Leland, B. I. ch. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Usher, however, derives this from St. Mell. In 1230, orders were issued to the abbots of Wales, England, and of Ireland, to excommunicate, in full chapter, with lighted candles, all, or any, who killed the abbot of Mellifont. If the culprit were a cleric, he was to be seized and imprisoned for ever.—Grace's Annals.

gradh" or "Vale of Charity," of the "Praise of God," and of the "Harbour of Holy Mary."

In concluding this chapter, I may observe, that the annalists dwell with emphasis, on the visitations, which befel the invaders. Such annalists insist, that those who had a hand in bringing shame and trouble on a church, striving after perfection, might have anticipated visible chastisements. Adrian the fourth, Pope, who authorized the invasion of Henry the second, was choked.<sup>a</sup> M'Murrough, who invited the English adventurers to Ireland, died of a strange disease, and impenitent. "Strongbow," say the annalists, "died in despair, struck by the saints of God." De Lacy, from a blow by a noble youth named Mey, from Meath,<sup>1</sup> met a violent death. The other principal actors, Robert FitzStephen, Henry de Montmorris, Raymund le Gros, John de Courcey and Meyler FitzHenry, died without issue.<sup>1</sup> It is a curious coincidence. It has been noticed, not only by native, but even by the *court* historians of the time, who wrote to defend the conquest.<sup>2</sup> They trace it to a supernatural cause. Certain it is, that the Irish, in every age since then to the present, have always looked out for some manifestation of God's displeasure against the invaders of sacred things and sacred places. The annals of no other country, perhaps, exhibit so many instances of divine interposition, coolly recorded by chroniclers of every shade of temperament, and fully believed, nay anticipated by the people, as

<sup>a</sup> I know not if it be for the bull Dante puts him in Purgatory.

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Four Masters.

<sup>2</sup> Liber Munerum. Leland, B. I. ch. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gerald Barry calls the Irish saints "vengeful,"

the annals of the Irish Church. An angel with a flaming sword, appears to have guarded the sanctuary. Evil doers may not always have been checked; for a seared conscience will receive no warning. But such interpositions kept alive in the hearts of the faithful, Christian patience, and a lively trust in an overruling providence.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE Annals of the Four Masters tell us, that the thirteenth century opened favorably for the Irish Church. Because, if abuses existed, steps were taken to correct them. In the year 1201, a synod, presided over by a Cardinal legate, John de Monte Cælio,\* was held in Dublin. There were present at it many of the bishops, of the inferior clergy, and many lay gentlemen. Several useful regulations were made. Of the abuses which occupied the attention of the synod, and excited the alarm of the sovereign Pontiff, not the least, was the occupation of ecclesiastical property by hereditary usurpers. It was an abuse of some hundred years' standing. During the confusion consequent on the Danish invasions, the descendants of those men, who formerly endowed the Church with rich acres, stepped forward to re-claim the gifts of their pious ancestors. Not that they thoroughly secularized Church property, but procuring ecclesiastics at a low hire, who discharged the spiritual functions, they swept the temporal profits into their own coffers. Hence, Pope Innocent III. wrote to John de Monte Cælio in Ireland, to bring about the abolition of that "pernicious practice, which

\* Cardinal of Salernum, according to the Four Masters.

allowed sons and grandsons to succeed to their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices.”<sup>b</sup> Another synod, in about a fortnight after, with like good results, was held in Connaught. About this time, too, the clergy used their influence in bringing about a reconciliation between De Burgo and the people of Desmond. The clergy were successful in their endeavours.<sup>c</sup> But the reconciliation, as may be expected, was not lasting. For, the kingdom was parcelled out amongst some nine or ten adventurers.<sup>d</sup> They had not actual possession of the territories assigned to them ; and till then, they could not be satisfied. It would be well for the interests of religion, if at once the natives were brought under, without hope of successful resistance ; and happier still, if the strangers were driven over the seas. Neither was the case. On that account, the disorder consequent on the invasion of Henry II. was so far from being lessened, that it appears to have increased at this period.

The adventurers were quiet, only so long as it suited their purposes. Fitzadelm or De Burgo, may have paid some deference to the suggestion of the legate, but very little to the pleading of the clergy. Nothing is more shocking than the accounts given of his cruelty and irreligion. He slew priests and laics without distinction ; threw down religious houses, and profaned the holiest sanctuary. But he was excommunicated, and under such a censure, in the most frightful agony, he died impenitent. Instead of receiving christian

<sup>b</sup> Ciaconius, tom. I, coll. 1160—Lives of the Popes.

<sup>c</sup> Leland, B. I. ch. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Leland. Sir John Davis. Hist. Relat.



burial, he was thrown into a deep well, and from that well he was never taken.\*

In the early ages of the Irish Church, the influence of religion was felt in every dell, on the mountain top, in palace and in cottage, in fact, through every corner of the island. Not merely so, but the glories of that church penetrated and illustrated every country in Europe. These glories were now quickly fading; and instead of directing our gaze to the distant lands illuminated by the diverging rays, the attention is concentrated on the Irish Church in its decline, and shorn of its splendors. The few remaining beams of light tremble and pale in Flanders and Iona. In the former place, about the year 1202, Saint Manon, an Irishman, suffered martyrdom in the Forest of Ardenne.<sup>†</sup> Already, indeed, the time had come, when there was no need of seeking the crown of martyrdom in distant countries.<sup>‡</sup> In the following year, our attention is turned to the far-famed Iona. For a long time Irish Monks presided over that famous and holy retreat.<sup>§</sup> Their jurisdiction extended over even bishops. But at this time, a new church was built there, without the consent of the Irish Church. Some representatives were sent over

\* M'Gheoghan, p. 304. Stanihurst de rebus Hib. Lib. 4. 'An. Four Masters.

† Ware's Annals.

‡ About 1186, Gerald Barry, tutor to King John, twitted Maunice, Archbishop of Cashel, because Ireland had no martyrs at home. The Archbishop replied, that the people had a great respect for their priests; but that the time was now at hand, on the coming of the English, when Ireland would witness many martyrdoms.

§ Even the Protestant Johnson paid to it the nice compliment of saying, "he did not envy the man, whose piety did not feel a glow amid the ruins of Iona."—Tour to the Hebrides.

from Ireland, to protest against the assumption of independence. These were the Bishops of Raphoe and of Derry, Mialisa O'Dorigh, and Florence O'Carbhallan, the Abbot of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh, O'Fergail Abbot of Derry, Ainmere O'Coffey, and many others. They asserted the supremacy of the mother church, pulled down the house lately built by O'Ceallach, and appointed O'Fergail as Abbot. It is the last time we hear any thing of Iona in connexion with the Irish Church, of which for centuries, it formed the brightest jewel.<sup>1</sup>

But at home at its very door, there was business enough for the Irish Church to be occupied with. It met with as little respect as from Pagans, from those who pretended that they came only to reform her. They treated the churches and the monasteries as magazines. Their marches were marked by cruelty and plunder. Hugh De Lacy, the younger, burnt churches in his march to Tyrone. In Connaught, William Burke plundered all property, lay, and ecclesiastical.<sup>2</sup> During ten days and so many nights, De Lacy, in the year 1206, plundered Armagh and the very abbey;<sup>3</sup> and in the following, or second next year plundered it again.<sup>4</sup> Such scenes one may be prepared to expect during the descent of the Pagan Danes on our coasts: but they were strangely out of character at this time. Such things, however, were quite common; and what was worse, not confined to the invader, they were enacted by the Irish themselves. And this fact, as

<sup>1</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, by John O'Donovan.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Four Masters, by Connellan.

<sup>3</sup> Archdall.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

much or more than anything else, will give us an idea of the awful change, which came over the minds of the natives. For, of all people, with a few exceptions brought about by the demoralizing effect of the Danish wars, they were religious and scrupulous in their conduct to places of worship. To such a degree were they so, that in their eyes, the churches were sanctuaries, from which even the necessities of life may not be taken. Now unfortunately, from the frequency of bad example, they were found to desecrate the holy places. Dermot O'Loghlin, in company with the English, desecrated the shrine of Saint Columbkille; but the annalists do not fail to tell us, that they were defeated, at this time by the interposition of the Saint; and that Dermot was slain.<sup>a</sup>

Nor was it merely from the uneducated and low that the Church had to suffer. Its freedom was threatened by King John himself. The Chapter of Armagh, on the vacancy of the Primatial See, proceeded to an election. King John appointed a favorite named Tickell; but the Pope set aside Tickell, and had Gillivider consecrated Archbishop. On the death of Tickell, his former nominee, the King appointed to the Archbishoprick, Ralph, Archdeacon of Meath; but he, too, was set aside by the Pope. The King, indignant at the opposition to his will, sent orders to all the suffragans, to have his own favorite recognized as the successor to St Patrick. It was in vain. Innocent the Third was not a Pontiff on whom the King could force his flown notions of kingly prerogative. These disputes between the King and the Pontiff may be witnessed, from time

<sup>a</sup> Annals Four Masters, ad. an. 1203.

to time, and it may not be amiss to say a few words in reference to the mode of nomination to Bishoprics.—

In the early ages of the Irish Church the privileges communicated by the Pope to it, as to every other distant church, were very ample. The fullest powers were given to the first missionaries, and founders of churches. The more distant each country was from the centre of unity, the greater its privileges. Even at the present day, every necessary communicable privilege is imparted to the missionary destined for distant countries. And Ireland, because of its distance,<sup>o</sup> is relieved from obligations to which nearer countries are subject. For many centuries, then, owing to distance and difficulty of communication, the Chapter in Ireland had the right of nomination to Bishoprics and Abbacies. This was demanded by the necessities of the Church. Because, if people were to wait till they heard from Rome, in reference to a vacant See or Abbey, before they were to proceed to an election, a great, very great delay, and a neglect of the interests of the Church would be necessary consequences. On that account, Rome gave to countries much nearer to it than Ireland, the right of domestic nomination. However, we are not to infer, that the Irish Church was independent of Rome. Because, whatever may have been the economy of the Irish Church in providing for the succession of Pastors, it was sanctioned by the Holy See. Foolishly then, do persons maintain, that down to the synod of Kells in the year 1152, the Irish Church paid no sub-

<sup>o</sup> Amongst other concessions, the Irish Bishops, at present, enjoy an exemption from an obligation to visit Rome oftener than every ninth year, the sixtine constitution notwithstanding.

mission to Rome. Some fifty years before the synod of Kells, Gillibert was legate to the Apostolic See in Ireland; and even hundreds of years before the time of Gillibert, there had been, according to Protestant historians, legates appointed by Rome for Ireland.<sup>p</sup> Palladius, the first Bishop in Ireland of whose existence there is no doubt, received his mission from Pope Celestine.<sup>q</sup>

Not many month afterwards, St. Patrick, before setting out for Ireland, received the blessing of the same Pontiff.<sup>r</sup> In deference to Rome only, was abandoned

<sup>p</sup> Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 37 says, "that Laserean was legate in Ireland from the year 630 to 638. Ware tells us, that Maguire, Archbishop of Armagh, had been legate."—Ware's *Bishops*.

<sup>q</sup> Prosper's *Chronicle*.

<sup>r</sup> Probus. Erric, in his life of St. German d'Auxerre, Protestant Archbishop Ussher (*Ind chronol.*) Bollandists, Colgan Tr. Thaum, p. 253. Protestant Harris—Some of these say, that St. Patrick was consecrated in France, others that he was consecrated at Rome. All agree in saying, that he received from the Pope Ireland as a mission. For this there has been a strong uninterrupted tradition. Eugene O'Curry, (p. 354 of the MSS. *Materials of Irish History*) says, "you can scarcely open an Ancient Gaedhlic Manuscript, without meeting one or more pieces in prose or verse, illustrative of the great principles, particular doctrines, and moral application of the Christian religion, as brought hither from Rome and preached in Erin by St. Patrick in perfect connexion with, and submission to, the never failing chair of Peter." Though St. Patrick may not have been actually consecrated in Rome for the Irish Mission, owing to a Bishop Palladius being already in Ireland, yet he was to proceed, by leave of the Pope, to help Palladius; or on his death, to receive consecration. Accordingly, on the death of Palladius, St. Patrick proceeded to Ireland a consecrated Bishop. Something of this sort happened with regard to England. The Archbishops Paulinus and Honorius, in the Sees of York and Canterbury, obtained leave from Pope Honorius, that either may, on the death of the other, consecrate a successor to the deceased, without consulting

the old system of computing the Paschal time. The far-famed Columbanus, who lived in the sixth century, calls Rome "the Mistress of Churches," and asks the then Pope, whether communion shall be held with Bishops, who entertained strange opinions in reference to the "Three Chapters." A canon found in the old book of Armagh ordained, "that if difficult cases arose in the Irish Church, which could not be decided by the See of Armagh and its wise counsellors, that they should be referred to the Apostolic See, the Chair of Peter." Before applying themselves to the conversion of infidels, Irish missionaries used go to get the sanction and blessing of Rome.\*

Rome. Ep. of Honorius, 6th Ep. Now, if we were not aware of this provision, we may be tempted to say, that a Primate wore the Pallium without the consent of Rome. I have said this much, because I see from a 'Prospectus' by Dr. Todd, that he undertakes to show, that St. Patrick did not receive a mission from Rome. Till his arguments are given, of course, I cannot meet them—at the same time, unless as a matter of historical interest, it matters not whether St. Patrick directly received a mission from the Holy See. For St. German of Auxerre, a close correspondent, and special friend of Pope Celestine, trained and patronised, and supplied with books and vestments our glorious Apostle St. Patrick. And though it could be proved, that St. Patrick was not sent to Ireland by the Pope, what of that? Thousands of Bishops, before the Pope reserved to himself the power of confirming or instituting them, preached the Gospel, not indeed without the approbation of those in communion with the Pope, but surely without his knowledge. I have thought it necessary to say so much for those, who may, to their own satisfaction, establish that St. Patrick got no mission from Rome, and then foolishly conclude, that Ireland acknowledged not the supremacy of Peter.

\* See Syllogo of Usher.—Cummian de mensura pœnitentiarum, Bibliot. Patrum, tom. 12 ch. 11.

\* See Bollandists vita Sti Deicoli, p. 205, Sti, Kiliani, p. 613, &c.

While then it is certain, that the Irish Church, though always subject to Rome, enjoyed the privilege of domestic nomination to Bishoprics and Archbishoprics before the synod of Kells, so, it is no less certain, that, for a long time after that synod, the same privilege was continued. The only change, which took place, arose from the invasion by the English. Whatever influence on the nomination to Bishoprics was claimed or exercised by the native Princes, that, and more than that was claimed by the English Monarchs. Very naturally, indeed, the monarch wished to be satisfied of the prudence, and loyalty of a man, to whom extensive lands, and consequently vast power were assigned. On the vacancy of a See, the chapter met. However, before meeting for purposes of election, the chapter required the royal consent, or as it was termed in the court language of the day, a *conge d' elire*. Then the consent or confirmation of the metropolitan to the election, if there had been question of appointing a Bishop, was obtained ; if there were question of filling the metropolitical See itself, then the Bishops of the province gave confirmation to the elect. Accordingly, Innocent the third, writing in reference to the See of Cashel says, "that, on the death of the Bishop, the ring and crozier should be deposited in the Cathedral Church, and that the Archbishop of Cashel should be elected, as heretofore, by the suffragans and by the majority of the chapter."<sup>u</sup> As a matter of course, the metropolitan confirmed the Bishop elect. The Arch-

<sup>u</sup> Regest. 13, Ep. 48. Nullus ad eandem Ecclesiam in Archiepiscopum eligatur, nisi quem suffraganci Episcopi et Canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel major pars consilii sanioris, sicut hactenus observandum.

bishop or Bishop, sometimes claimed the right of confirming the Abbot or Prior.

But, in process of time, the king brought canonical election to a mere nullity. Should the chapter have proceeded to an election without the king's consent, he declared it null. Not satisfied with having good and loyal men elected Bishops, he often put in nomination the most worthless of his creatures. The chapter insisted on their privileges, and on the freedom of election. From this, disputes arose between them and the king. Such disputes called for the interference of the Pope, and thus prepared the way for the loss of independent domestic nomination.\* Another reason for the interference of Rome took its rise in the wars, in which it became involved. Anxious to reward those, who rendered good service to the Church, Rome appointed to Sees by "Provision." By provision, the Pope appointed to a See, even before it became vacant. Of course, the appointment had effect, only after the death of the then incumbent. Such a mode of appointment, which was very common in the fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, while it precluded the chapter from election, rendered it necessary to apprise Rome of each vacancy. Lastly, a discontinuance of Provincial councils in Ireland, as in the other national churches, led to the necessity of confirmation by Rome.† At first, confirmation by the Pope was required only for Archbishops. The confirmation of the Bishop elect was left to the Metropolitan. This continued till the end of the thir-

\* Thomassius, *Ancienne et nov. discip.* Vol. 2, ch. xxxiv. p. 892.

† Thomassinus *Ancienne et nov. discip.* chap. xliii. part ii. Liv. II.



teenth century.\* However, in the fourteenth century, the confirmation of even a Bishop was reserved to Rome. Thus, in 1373, Edward sent to the Pope, an ambassador, who begged, on the part of the king, that the Bishops, as formerly, may be confirmed by the Metropolitan.<sup>7</sup> During the thirteenth century, then, three parties, the chapter, suffragan Bishops or Archbishop and the king,<sup>8</sup> concurred in an election. In the fourteenth century, the voice of a fourth party, the Pope, became necessary.

King John, not profiting by defeat in his contest with Innocent III., in reference to the appointment of Archbishop, Gillivider, to the See of Armagh, undertook to dispute the election of Stephen Langton to the See of Canterbury. In consequence of this, Pope Innocent laid his possessions in Ireland under an interdict. It lasted for four years. Ultimately the king was excommunicated and deposed. Discontented at his tyranny, the nobles rose in rebellion. In order to carry on the war against the Lacys and others, he sent the Bishop of Norwich to Ireland. The persecution against the clergy increased—their lands were seized. But after some time, the wicked king reflected, relented because the bells ceased to toll. There was no solemnity about the

\* Thomas St. Leger, Bishop of Meath about 1282, writing to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, requests that he would write to the Pope in his behalf, and obtain for him confirmation. Because, his own Metropolitan, to whom *confirmation belonged*, was now, as under excommunication, unable to give it.—*Litteræ in Turri Lond. Anno. 10, Ed. 1.*

<sup>7</sup> Thomas. *Ancienne et nov. &c.* Part ii. Liv. ii. ch. xliii.

<sup>8</sup> Down to the Reformation, the King did not appoint to some three dioceses in Ulster. Derry, Raphoe.

celebration of the sacraments. If an exhortation were addressed to the people on Sundays, it took place in the church-yard. The dead were buried in unconsecrated ground, and without the touching ritual of the church. The hands of lovers were united in silence, and in the porch of the temple. The whole church put on mourning, and the gloom of Pagan times overspread the land.<sup>a</sup> This state of things continued for five years; and during that time, there is no counting the cruelties and exactions practised by the excommunicated king.<sup>b</sup> Bishoprics were kept vacant; and whatever monies were wrung from ecclesiastics, had to be forgiven him. He bound them by a written engagement, to declare that what he got was voluntarily given.<sup>c</sup>

At this time, a religious penitential spirit led many from the pleasure of the world to the seclusion of a cloister. Foremost among these may be reckoned, in the year 1204, O'Felan, lord of Great Conall in Kildare County.<sup>d</sup> On the other hand, a worldly spirit crept into ecclesiastical bodies. They disputed angrily for the body of D'Lacy, whose death was said to have been caused by his cruelty, and profanation of sacred places. Rival claims were set up by the canons of St. Thomas in Dublin on the one hand; and on the other, by the monks of Bectiff in the County of Meath. The dispute became so serious and obstinate, that there was none by whose decision they would abide. Pope Innocent the third, was referred to: but he devolved the examination of the matter on Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, on

<sup>a</sup> Dunstable, 51.

<sup>b</sup> The interdict extended only to the *English* possessions in Ireland.

<sup>c</sup> Annals Waver. 173.

<sup>d</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.

the Archdeacon of Meath, and on the Prior of Duleek. The annalists tell us, that this foolish and discreditable contest was decided in favor of the St. Thomas' house in Dublin.\* About the year 1206, Gillivider, whose election King John disputed, had to go to England, and complain of encroachments on the immunities of the Irish.† What these grievances were, or what redress was given, the annalists do not mention: but it is not likely, that much satisfaction was given by the cruel mean sovereign. It is not likely, that much was obtained from a prince, who braved for years, the most terrible exercise of ecclesiastical power, by even the Pope himself.

If the pride and violence of the Lord of Ireland, brought trouble on a considerable portion of its Church, a still greater source of trouble and scandal was the disputes of her ministers among themselves. The Bishop of Waterford, David, longed for an union of his See to that of Lismore. This brought him in collision with his brother Bishop, the ordinary of Lismore. The Pope had to interfere. But not being able to speak, or judge from personal knowledge, with regard to the circumstances of the case, he appointed as delegates to examine the matter, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Clonfert, and the Bishop of Enaghdone. They cited the Bishop of Waterford to appear before them. He objected on several grounds. Because, only 27 days had to elapse, till, by virtue of the summons given, he had to make his appearance, and he maintained that

\* Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 140.

† An. 4 m.

this notice was uncanonically short ;<sup>a</sup> because the summons was served by a mere abbot. The objections were discussed, and overruled. It was found, that 39 days were allowed, by the citation, for appearance ; and that the citation need not have been made by a Bishop. However, the Bishop of Waterford, so far from paying any deference to the commission, laid violent hands on the Bishop of Lismore. Notwithstanding, the case was gone into by the delegates. Time out of mind, Lismore was proven to have been a cathedral church, and its present Bishop to have been canonically elected. But on learning, that David of Waterford offered violence, to his brother Bishop of Lismore, the delegates felt it their duty to put the former on trial for the assault. They summoned him to appear, but he did not. They inducted the Bishop of Lismore into his See, and fined David of Waterford in 160 marks.<sup>b</sup>

But the spirit that urged the Bishop of Waterford to the acquisition of territory, did not allow him to acquiesce in the decision of the delegates. He became enraged, and urged his brother, who was seneschal, to seize the Bishop of Lismore. The seneschal, with the aid of others, came on the Bishop as he was leaving his church, dragged off the episcopal robes, and forcing him to the presence of his rival, the Bishop of Waterford, at Dungarvan, threw him into prison. Such conduct was looked on by the apostolic delegates, as disrespectful to

<sup>a</sup> The notice should have been served 40 days before the day of trial, according to the prevailing discipline.

<sup>b</sup> A mark was 13s. 4d. The gold mark was, sometimes, nine times greater, and when the coin was debased, ten times greater than the silver mark. Lingard, vol. 2, ch. 5, note. I can't say, whether in the silver or gold marks, the Bishop was fined.

the Holy See, unworthy of a Bishop, and personally insulting to themselves. They accordingly met with the Archbishop of Munster at Cashel. And as the Bishop of Waterford protested his innocence of the outrage offered to the Bishop of Lismore, the delegates hurled excommunication, in general terms, against the authors of the outrage. In the mean time the Bishop of Lismore lay pining of hunger and thirst in a loathsome dungeon. After the expiration of seven weeks, by some good chance, he made his escape. He hastened before the delegates, and told the sad story of his sufferings and captivity. A citation was served on the Bishop of Waterford to answer for his outrageous conduct. He appeared, not indeed to offer an apology, but to threaten the delegates with his vengeance, and then departed. While in their presence he affected all the anger of calumniated innocence. Another trial was decided on ; witnesses were summoned ; their depositions were published ; a copy of them was sent to David, the Bishop of Waterford, who was ordered to answer the charges laid and sworn against him. He appeared again before the judges, but did so in order to utter the foulest reproaches and most terrible threats against *them* and his rival. He even urged a cleric to aim a blow at the Bishop of Lismore. He was not hit. For, luckily he stooped ; and the missile was buried in the door against which he leant. The cleric, for such an outrage committed in the very presence of the delegates, was excommunicated by them. His company was forbidden to the Bishop of Waterford ; but the latter communicated with him at the sacrifice of the Mass, ate with him, and held him in higher favor than before.

All these circumstances were told, and proven before

the delegates. They therefore appointed a day for the Bishop of Waterford to appear a third time. He did not obey the citation. Another summons was sent him, a third, a fourth, and a fifth summons was issued—but to no effect. Seeing themselves treated with such contempt, the delegates could no longer hesitate, as to what course they ought to pursue. They excommunicated with bell, book, and candle-light, both him and his adherents. The Archbishop of Cashel undertook to have the sentence published through the province. The Bishop of Waterford was interdicted from all spiritual care as long as he continued obstinate; and the clergy of Waterford were ordered to refuse all obedience to him. However, they did not obey—as a consequence, they too, were visited with excommunication, and deprived of their offices. The Pope sanctioned these censures, and issued orders to have the Bishop of Lismore inducted to his see.<sup>1</sup> But while the temporalities were being fought for, the turbulent Bishop of Waterford, by some person probably in the service of the rival Bishop, was slain. An investigation was held; and it was proved, that the Bishop of Lismore was blameless of the murder. This coupled with the pacific character, which he always maintained, must acquit him of all blame during this unprecedented proceeding. In the course of the following year, Pope Innocent III., as if solely occupied with the Irish Church, writes to the Archbishop of Cashel, and gives instructions for the minutest details, for the merest ceremonial of religion. To understand this, I must

<sup>1</sup> Decretal. Ep. of Innocent III. tom. 2, p. 659. Ed. Baluz. Harris' Ware's Bishops, 529.

speak of the Pallium—the Pallium was a badge of the plenitude of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It had not been always in use in the Christian church. The material was got from the wool of lambs, presented in the Church of St. Agnes on the altar, at the Agnus Dei of the mass. The lambs were then given to apostolic sub-deacons, and fed by nuns, and finally shorn in due time. The wool was laid on the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul at the high altar during the night. While so placed the sub-deacons kept watch over it. Such is the material of the Palliums. It was not always in use. The old city of Vienna received it for the first time, in the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> Originally the Pallium was an ornament worn by the Christian Emperors, and, in course of time, given by them to eminent Christian Bishops as an ornament. Time went on, and afterwards the Pallium was reserved to Archbishops. Even to these it was not given promiscuously, before the decree of Pope Zachary. From the sixth century it was given to Apostolic Delegates.<sup>2</sup> In later ages, it was applied for by the Metropolitans before the expiration of three months after consecration.<sup>1</sup> Were one to receive it by proxy, the procurator took the usual oath in his name, promised to stop, unless from necessity, no more than one night in one place; and while in that place to deposit it in the Cathedral or Collegiate Church. In the absence of either, it may be left in the

<sup>1</sup> Baronius ad An. 738.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Bona “de rebus liturgicis.” Marca “de concordia Sacerdotii et imperii.” Spelman. Thomassinus de la discipline, &c.

<sup>1</sup> If one neglected receiving the Pallium within three months after election, he was deprived of communion; if there were a neglect for five months, it precluded the consecration of the elect for any diocese. Corpus juris canonici, Pars I. Distinct. c. p. 122.

Parish Church. It symbolized the ephod worn by the Jewish High Priest. By that name it was sometimes understood. It symbolized the several virtues that ought to adorn the minister of Christ, and the pastor of the people. It bore a label in front for the breast, and another for the shoulders ; typified the severity that ought to be used towards the obstinate, but the piety and gentleness to be exercised to the penitent and humble ; was suggestive of purity and conformity between preaching and practice, of the active and contemplative life ; it conducted one to the Mount, like Moses, and by and by, putting Martha forward as a model, gently led one to the ministry ; it encouraged moderation in prosperity, and fortitude in adversity ; symbolized the cardinal virtues, included compunction, labour, and the fear of the Lord.<sup>m</sup>

The Pallium may not be lent ; it could be used neither by the Archbishop outside the province, nor, on his deposition, by another. It was buried with the wearer. Innocent the third, then, wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel, to determine the days, on which he might wear the Pallium, time-honored, so full of mystic and sublime meaning. These days were Christmas day, St. Stephen's day, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Hypapante,<sup>p</sup> Dominica Gaudete,<sup>o</sup> de Lætare Jerusalem,<sup>p</sup> Palm Sunday,

<sup>m</sup> For a fuller description of the mystic meaning of the ornaments see Alan's Registry, p. 277.

<sup>p</sup> The Purification of the B. V. M. The word comes from *υπαπαντα*, to meet ; because on that day, the Immaculate Virgin met Holy Simeon in the Temple.

<sup>o</sup> This was the third Sunday of Advent. It was so called, because, the Introit of the Mass on that day begins with the word Gaudete.

<sup>p</sup> This was the fourth Sunday of Lent. The Introit in the Mass of that day begins with these words.



Holy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, the three festivals of the B. V. Mary,<sup>1</sup> St. John's day, all Saints' day, the festival of the Apostles. The Pallium was to be used, not on the dedication of churches, the consecration of churches, ordination of priests, the principal festival of the Church of Cashel, and on the anniversary of the Archbishop's consecration.<sup>2</sup>

A striking peculiarity in the Irish Church had been, even down to a late period, the multiplication of dioceses. However, since the coming of the English, the great aim of the English Churchmen was the consolidation of livings. This happened, either because the temporalities had become less productive: or more probably, because the love of gain, which drove the English ecclesiastics to Ireland, could ill brook the scanty living, with which the Irish cleric, of simple severe habits, would have felt satisfied. But a while ago, the scandalous disputes for the Bishopric of Lismore passed before our eyes. In the year 1510, on the death of Celestine O'Duffy, the See of Mayo was sought to be annexed to that of Tuam.<sup>3</sup> (Donald,

<sup>1</sup> These were, it is all likelihood, the Annunciation, the Assumption, and the Nativity.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from Senger's Registry, that in 1444, the Archbishop of Armagh ordered the Bishop of Clogher to have his people assembled, on the Sunday after "Corpus Christi," that they may be present at the mass of the pallium, to be celebrated by himself. Though the appointed day is not mentioned among the privileged festivals specified by Innocent the Third, yet it may be an anniversary of the Archbishop's consecration, or a day on which he was to ordain clergymen: and so the regulations in the text may not have been departed from.

<sup>3</sup> Ware says, that it was actually annexed. However, Harris (Bishops, p. 602) and Usher, represent the see of Mayo independent, down to 1559.

Kells, Rathlure, Duleek, Iniscathy, and Roscrea had already been absorbed by larger dioceses. To the independent existence, however, of these respective Sees, the Roman legate Paparo gave his full concurrence. The supposed union of Glendaloch with the See of Dublin in 1214 is attended with some difficulty. For, down to the close of the fifteenth century, there were occasional appointments to Glendaloch. This indeed might have arisen, as well from the glorious associations, that hung round Glendaloch while an Episcopal See, as from that spirit of independence in the brave peasants of Wicklow, which spurned an union with what they looked on as the stronghold of English power.

The occasional appointments, then, to Glendaloch, are quite natural, and reconcileable with an union in 1214. The supposed union took place on the strength of an arrangement made at the Synod of Kells ; though for some reason, the union was deferred unto the present time. In confirmation of such an arrangement, the testimony of O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam, is adduced. It ran thus :<sup>1</sup>—" Master John Paparo, legate of the Roman Church, coming to Ireland, found a Bishop dwelling in Dublin, who then exercised his episcopal functions within the city. He found, in the same diocese, another church amid the mountains, which was called a city, and had a country," or assistant, Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> It is styled, "Testimony of Archbishop of Tuam and his Suffragans."  
"A Letter concerning the Bulls sent into Ireland." Harris' Bishops, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> The annals of the Irish Church throw considerable light on a subject, that has been attended with much perplexity and obscurity. The nature of the term "chorepiscopus," has divided the world of ecclesiastical antiquarians. One party maintains, that the "chorepis-

The legate appointed Dublin the best city in the province to be the Metropolitan See. He gave the pall to the Bishop, that then presided over the Church of Dublin, and so arranged, on a division of the diocese, in which there were two cities, that, one part should belong to the Metropolitan See, and the other part to

copus," or country Bishop, had not episcopal consecration; that he was no more than a rural dean. At the same time, he could ordain persons to the office of Reader, Sub-deacon, Exorcist, but not to that of deacon. He could give the veil, or officiate at the consecration of a virgin. Another section of antiquarians insists, that the chorepiscopus received the episcopal character, but was subordinate in some respects, in jurisdiction, to the city Bishop. Men of this class tell us, that, in the early ages of the Church, the Bishop, with a number of Priests under him, managed the spiritual concerns of some district; that as the population increased, or the work of conversion went on, he was unable to attend to the more distant parts of his district; and that, consequently, before the division of parishes was known, he had to appoint another Bishop to it. Because, for many centuries, the Church did not give, generally, independent jurisdiction over any district to a simple Priest. From various causes it can be inferred, that the "chorepiscopus" had power to confirm the newly-baptized; to grant dimissory letters to those clergymen, who wished to remove from one district to another; had the power of voting in synods.—Council of Antioch, can. x. and viii.—Bingham. The decree of the Synod of Kells, relative to the reduction of Bishoprics, stood thus—"Decedentibus Chorepiscopis et Exiliorum (?) Sedium Episcopis in Hibernia, in eorum loco eligentur Archipresbyteri in diocesanos constituendi, qui cleri et populi sollicitudinem gerant, infra suos limites, et ut eorum sedes in totidem confecta decanatum ruralium eligerentur."—Simon Rochfort's Constitutions. This decree clearly proves that the country Bishops were more than rural deans; because, on the death of the Bishops, it was said that successors to them should be no more than deans. Bingham (Book II. ch. xiv., de originibus), and Bergier (Theologic. Dic. au mot choreveque), are wrong in saying, that the office was abolished in the Western Church in the eleventh century. It did not begin till the middle of the fourth century in the Western Church.

the Bishop on the mountains : So that we firmly believe, this to have been done with the intention, that the part belonging to the Bishop on the mountains, on his death, should fall to the metropolitan. And that such would have been the case, were it not for the stubbornness of the Irish, who then mastered that portion of the country. When the Lord, Henry king of England became acquainted with the disposition of the legate, he gave, accordingly, the lands to the metropolis : King John when Earl ratified the same lands to the predecessor of the present incumbent, on fully learning the disposition made by the legate. Besides, the holy church amid the mountains, though formerly held in great reverence on account of the sanctity of St. Kevin, who led there a penitential, eremetical life, now, however, is so desolate for the last 40 years, that it has become a den of thieves : so that more murders are committed there, than in any other place in Ireland, by reason of its desert character." In the following years, in 1215, or in 1216, the union of Dublin and Glendaloch was ratified by the Pope. During centuries, Glendaloch had only a few Bishops ; and the election of these few was owing to what O'Ruadan said was characteristic of the native, the spirit of independence. While Glendaloch lost its independence, as an Episcopal See, it would have forfeited too the privileges of a chapter, were it not for the decision of Archbishop O'Ruadan.\*

It is in the remembrance of the reader, how John by his tyranny and exactions, even towards the Church, roused the people to rebellion, and brought down the

\* See Harris' Bishops, p. 377.

terrible sentence of an interdict on his possessions in Ireland. Even a female may not, without his permission, enter on a religious life.<sup>w</sup> The interdict, however, was removed in the year 1213. In the month of October, in that year, a reconciliation took place between the King and the Pope through the Bishop of Tusculum, his legate. The basis of the reconciliation was a guarantee on the part of the king, to pay 1,000 marks yearly to the Pope.<sup>x</sup> Seven hundred were to be paid for England, and three hundred marks for his possessions in Ireland.<sup>y</sup> He put both kingdoms as a feudal tenure under the protection of the Holy See. He promised to secure freedom of election to the Chapter, but required the profits of the vacant Sees. Accordingly, the Pope wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, acquainting them of the reconciliation with king John, and urging them to pay and preach up allegiance to him.<sup>z</sup> Notwithstanding his promise, King John gave cause of complaint. It was preferred, on the part of the Church, through the Archbishop of Dublin.

<sup>w</sup> Rolls Parl. John, 63. In 1206, he demanded money from the clergy, not indeed as a right, "*non consuetudinarie, sed amicableiter.*" —Rymer's *Fœdera*.

<sup>x</sup> Dr. Lingard (app. to Vol. 2), says, that the Bishop of Norwich, with two associates, had been sent to Rome, who brought back letters of reconciliation from the Pope; and that during their absence, the legate arrived through whom King John swore fealty to the Pope.

<sup>y</sup> The 300 marks were to be paid, in addition to the Peter Pence. But I suspect that little, if any, of the Peter pence was paid in Ireland. Even in England, in which they were established for centuries, there was a disposition to discontinue them. Pope Innocent complained, that, though upwards of £865 were gathered, he received only £199 8s. Ibid, p. 165.

<sup>z</sup> Leland, *Liber munerum*—Rymer.

Among the several abuses complained of were those arising from the forest laws.<sup>a</sup> Legislation on this matter was a source of great annoyance, and sometimes of bloodshed. In the time of Henry II. the Bishop of Salisbury was fined £75 7s. and Adam Brus £100, for having taken a roe-buck.<sup>b</sup> Those who could not pay a mulct, were imprisoned; and such as, at the expiration of a year and day spent in prison, could not give bail, had to abjure the land.<sup>c</sup>

While the portion of the Irish Church represented by the English, exhibited scenes of scandal, a disedifying scramble for gain among the ecclesiastics, violence and plunder among the laics, the other portions of the country were scarcely in less disorder. The English wished to establish themselves in Connaught, Munster, and in Ulster. Bishops, who, of all men, should have been pacific and neutral, appeared to have taken no inactive part in the expeditions for conquest.<sup>d</sup> They were times, during which the church could not easily proceed in its peaceful mission. The interdict added to the confusion. One passion was met by another equally strong. No principle was worked out to its legitimate consequences, but cut short in its development. Some were founding monasteries; others were destroying them. Some were retiring from the world

<sup>a</sup> Rymer.

<sup>b</sup> Madox, c. xiv.

Rymer ad annum 1215. The reader will be good enough to bear in mind, that "abjuring the land" has here the natural signification. Because, hereafter I will have to show, that the phrase could not mean, as some would have it, "a religious profession."

<sup>d</sup> The Conacians marched to Ballyshannon under the English Bishop, and Gillibert M'Costello.—Annals Four Masters, ad an. 1211, Connellan's Edition.

to a place of retreat and prayer ; others were bent on a course of lawless aggrandizement. Sad times they were. They could scarcely be called times of transition. The Irish Clergy did what was possible, and indeed it was very little, to gain advantageous terms for their countrymen.\* Every effort was made by them to have union, and a concentration of scattered elements against the common foe. But their efforts met often with neglect, if not injury, at the hands of those in their senseless fury, for whom they gave themselves so much trouble.† Of course, the stranger was not disposed to show much respect either to them, or any thing which opposed their progress. Hence Churches were pulled down ; castles erected on the most obnoxious spots,‡ and the rights of sanctuary violated.‡

In all ages there were certain consecrated spots, which disarmed the anger of a foe. Such places, in the old law, were marked out by the very finger of God.¹ Even in pagan times, there was a sort of sanctuary thrown around the person of a vestal virgin, that rescued one doomed to destruction. No wonder then, the Christian Priesthood encouraged, and Christian Emperors sanc-

\* Notwithstanding the remonstrances of three Bishops, Mortough O'Brien was kept a prisoner by the English.—Annals of Four Masters.

† In making peace between O'Kean and M'Loughlin, the Prior of Derry was slain.—Ad. an. 1213, Four Masters.

‡ Ecclesiastical Establishments were pulled down by the English, in Derry, to make way for the erection of the castle of Coleraine. The Bishop of Norwich, despite all opposition, built a castle at Killaloe, ad annum 1213-'16.—Four Masters, Connellan Ed.

¹ Gilla O'Kelly was taken prisoner in St. Peter's, Athlone, and hanged at Trim.—Ad. an. 1215, Annals Four Masters.

¹ Numbers xxxv.

tioned what had its root in reason and religion,<sup>j</sup> the right of sanctuary in the Christian Church. What more useful, than to restrain impetuosity of feeling. Essentially necessary was it in the youth of nations to stay the arm, which was but too frequently raised to strike. There was time given to guilt for repentance, and an opportunity afforded innocence to vindicate itself. The majesty of the law was vindicated, and the wild right of revenge was checked. Impunity, however, was not given to all, who touched at a sacred spot. Public debtors, thieves, those guilty of treason, of conspiracy, murderers, ravishers of virgins, were excluded from the benefit of sanctuary.<sup>k</sup> Did the church protect public debtors, then the church was bound to satisfy the creditors.<sup>l</sup> The right of sanctuary lasted for thirty days. It prevailed since the middle or end of the fourth century.<sup>m</sup> Already we are prepared to see observed, in the Irish Church a practice, which, generally prevailing through the Universal Church, implied that respect for the ministers of religion, for which the Irish have been so remarkable. On that account the oldest canons determine who are to mark out the spot, to which the right of sanctuary is attached.<sup>n</sup> Here, however, the

<sup>j</sup> Cod. Theo. lib. ix. tit. xlv. Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. xii.

<sup>k</sup> Just. Novell. 17, ch. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Leg. 1, 3, "pro his, ipsos, qui Eos occultare probantur, Episcopos Exigi."

<sup>m</sup> Why Bingham should say, that according to the Saxon laws, the right of sanctuary lasted only for three days, I am at a loss to know. Thirty-seven days were allowed at the shrine of St. Cuthbert. See Ancient Rites of Durham—Digby Ages of Faith, Vol. I. p. 313

<sup>n</sup> Three mark out sanctuary ground—the King, Bishop, and people. D'Acherry, Vol. 9—Irish Canons.



termon or sanctuary grounds had a wide signification. They included not only the right of sanctuary properly so called, but also, in a wider sense, the lands belonging to ecclesiastical bodies : on the latter, ecclesiastic tenants only and their property were inviolate.\* Right of sanctuary in the strictest acceptation, was limited to more special spots. So scrupulously was this observed in Ireland, that the very necessities of life under the shadow of the sanctuary were deemed inviolable. On that account Cardinal Vivian got leave for the English, about the year 1186, to have the provisions taken away from the sanctuaries, into which the Irish in the simplicity of faith had stowed them. Not only the sanctity of a place, but even the sacredness of a person ensured sanctuary. Feoris stole a bell from the Church of Ballysidare. He put it on his head in the hope, that his connexion with sanctuary, even by sacrilege, would protect him.<sup>†</sup> In the registry of Palatian, Archbishop of Armagh, reference is made to right of sanctuary.<sup>‡</sup> The clergy made it a matter of complaint "that those, who abjured the land, while in the public street, and in the king's peace should be molested; and that the guardians of those, who took refuge in a church, should

\* Eugene O'Curry quoted in the learned Life of St. Malachy by Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon.

† Birmingham was expressed in Irish by "Feoris" or "Peoris;" because the principal man of the Birminghams was called Pierse. An. Four Masters, 1261.

‡ The Registry refers to the laws passed in the Parliament at Lincoln, in the ninth year of Edward. We are to presume they were applied to Ireland. I take the opportunity of stating, that in alluding to the Registries, I quote the Trinity College copies, whose paging may be different from that of the originals. Vol. 1, p. 50.

have remained in the cemetery." They did not complain when there was a necessity on the part of the guardians of remaining in the cemetery, or when there may be danger of the refugee's escape. In the 11th article they insisted that "the refugees should be allowed to confess their sins, and not be molested while proceeding to a confession." Those, who were guilty of a crime, which deserved punishment at the hands of the law, by abjuring the land escaped it. The clergy, however, protested against a cleric guilty of felony being obliged to flee the country. This, they maintained, was a violation of ecclesiastical immunity, and indirectly exercised a control over the sacredness of the ecclesiastical character, which ought to be held inviolable. They were met by an answer, that if the cleric submitted to the laws of the land, that there would be no necessity for self-banishment. Though we saw that in the legislation of the Christian Emperors, murderers were excluded from the right of sanctuary, yet such was the respect entertained by the Irish Catholics in the churches marked out, and blessed by their ministers, that whoever entered them, no matter of what crime guilty, were not denied the liberty of escape. Numerous facts in proof of this may be adduced. One Hammond, a butcher, claimed sanctuary in the Convent of Drogheda. Martin of Termon Fechin, guilty of murder of an Englishman, which was less redeemable than that of an Irishman, claimed sanctuary. A man named Walter, and another Walter from Galway abjured the land. A Franciscan, Richard Deblet, John Bale, and Thomas Morison took sanctuary; and free from all arrests abjured the land.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Archdall (*Monasticon Drogheda*, ad an. 1300) draws entirely on

John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, died in 1212. Through life he was anxious to do justice to the Irish, and maintain the independence of the Church. His successor was Henry Loundres, a man, who by no means maintained the same high character as his predecessor. He used his influence to prevent King John, from coming to terms with the Holy See\*. He is represented as having urged the same king to grant "Magna Charta." To his credit, he was one of the few, who stood by his monarch in the distress which his tyranny brought on him. As a reward for his fidelity to his monarch, he was appointed justiciary.<sup>†</sup> By and

the imagination, when he asserts, that "abjuring the land," meant a religious profession. Because the term is applied to those, who had already made such a profession. Therefore it must mean something else. It means a departure from the country. Why, this very leaving of the country was made a matter of complaint by the clergy, as we saw in the Register of Palatian. In the history of Wayland, in the time of Edward I., we can see an option given, of being imprisoned for life, or of abjuring the land. With the best reason, then, did Dr. Lingard say, that "abjuring the land" was a natural and common expression.—Vol. 2, p. 301, note.

\* Harris' Bishops, p. 319.

† Bishops often were chancellors, justiciaries, &c. The justiciary was the first officer in the kingdom; he presided at the council, was regent or viceroy, a sort of chief-judge, or lieutenant. The treasurer witnessed the writs issued for levying the revenue, and superintended the receipts and issues of the Exchequer.—Madox i, 2. The office of chancellor was in use so early as the seventh century: as the name indicates, he was employed at the rails in helping the judge or assessor. (Bingham, B. 3, ch. xi. p. 63.) In after times, he was the keeper of the Great Seal; signed all grants; had care of the royal chapel, the custody of the vacant sees and baronies; and without a summons could sit in the council. The office of chancellor was a step, or a certain means to a Bishopric; and on that account, to avoid the taint of simony, the office was not purchaseable. The first mention of the

by he was appointed legate by the Pope.<sup>u</sup> Just and good as was the grant of Magna Charta, some suspicion attaches to the motive, that made Loundres have a part in it. Because from his conduct to his own tenants, he could not be deemed a friend either to freedom or justice. Having called them together on a fixed day, and obtained their leases, he threw them into the fire ; several of his attendants were killed, while himself narrowly escaped without injury. Such conduct merited and obtained for him, through life, the nick-name of Scorch-villain.<sup>v</sup>

Henry Loundres has acquired additional notoriety in connexion with the fire in St. Bridget's in Kildare. For the sake of perpetual vigil, and for purposes of hospitality, a fire was kept burning in St. Bridget's nunnery. The fire or lamp burnt by day and night. A lively imagination, and busy rumour invested the light with something supernatural. It was said to be unquenchable, and to leave no ashes. We know that Gerald Barry gravely tells his readers, there was an island near Roscrea, on which no man died, and no woman lived. Now, if he stripped the idea of figurative language, and showed it in a plain dress, he could inform us how the story took its rise. He could tell

chancery court occurs in the reign of Edward I. The chancellor did not take a part in judicial proceedings.—Stephen, 186. Spelman, *Archæologia*, 107.

<sup>u</sup> Ware, Harris' Bishops.

<sup>v</sup> Leland, Hanmer, Harris' Bishops. Unfavorable is the contrast, which his conduct exhibited to that of the Archbishop of Cashel, Donat O'Lonergan, who raised Cashel to a borough, and gave to it many important privileges. In the same year, Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, gave to his burgesses the free laws of Bristol ; and secured to them their holdings. What a stimulus to liberty !

how religious men on the island were in a state well calculated to bring them to everlasting life ; and that women, to whom entrance was forbidden, died a moral death by setting a foot on it.\* A turn of expression, which in one age most forcibly and figuratively embodied a certain idea, came in another, to be understood in quite a literal, and therefore ridiculous sense. In some such way, too, did it fare with the fire in Kildare. On account of something superstitious, which misrepresentation threw around it, Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, felt it his duty in 1220 to visit it.<sup>2</sup> There was nothing in the hospitable or religious light burning for ages, which the most orthodox could censure.<sup>3</sup> Whether it was the log piled on the hospital hearth, to warm and cheer the stranger, or a lamp that hung in honor of the Immaculate Virgin, at all events, it continued to burn out through ages, down to the Reformation.<sup>4</sup> The latter supposition I deem probable ; because in Catholic countries, from devotion to the Virgin, the lamp often swung through the midnight storm, as well

\* I am the more inclined to interpret thus the tradition given by Gerald Barry, as Dr. O'Donovan (*Annals Four Masters*, ad. an. 1600, p. 2218, note w) says that religious were called "sons of life," in the Irish language ; and sinners, "sons of death." Nor was figurative language on this subject confined to the Irish. The religious habit was called by the Greeks the angelic dress—*αγγελικὸν σχῆμα*.

<sup>2</sup> Cambrensis, dist. (*Topographia*) 2. ch. 35.

<sup>3</sup> One of the last words, which the present writer had the melancholy pleasure of having, in July 1862, from the great Brehon scholar, the late Eugene O'Curry, was in reply to an enquiry about the fire at Kildare. His answer was, that in all the ancient MSS he met with, there was not the least allusion to any thing of a wonderful or superstitious nature about it.

<sup>4</sup> Ware's *Antiq.* ch. 17, do.

over the yawning abyss and dangerous bridge, as before the altar of the sanctuary. Nor are we left to analogy merely in judging of Ireland. That such a religious practice obtained in Ireland is made certain by the entries on the Statute Rolls. In the year 1462, by a decree of Parliament, were granted to the Abbot and house of our Blessed Lady at Trim, two water-mills, weirs, fisheries, services of the villeins, for the repair of the church, and the continuance of a perpetual wax-light, from day to day and night to night. It was to burn before the image of our Lady on the pedestal of her statue, in the said house of Trim.\*

On the death of King John, Henry, in 1216, succeeded. Of course there was no difficulty in getting a confirmation from the son in his minority, of that charter, which was wrung from the father in the insolence of power. With some modifications it was applied to Ireland. And though I am not treating of the civil history, I notice the articles that bear only indirectly on ecclesiastical matters. He acknowledged in general terms, the freedom of the Irish Church, and sanctioned its privileges. He promised that there should be a careful guardianship of the Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, and Abbacies, during a vacancy. He granted this distinction to be observed between lay and church property, that the latter should not be sold; that no cleric should be fined unless according to preceding forms, and by the judgment of his peers; that the fine should be proportioned to the offence, and not to the wealth of the offender; finally, that whoever founded an Abbey, with custom or with the king's consent in his favor, he shall

\* Original Statutes Rolls.

have the guardianship of it when vacant.<sup>b</sup> Perhaps I may mention as affecting the discipline of the Church, and morality in general, that widows were not to be forced to a marriage.<sup>c</sup>

These were important acts of concession, or rather restitution to the Irish Church ; for they were not greater than were made generally under the native princes.<sup>d</sup> But the facility, with which the confirmation of the charter was obtained, was a reason why it became partially nugatory. Because the boyish monarch could not insist on its execution ; and in no place more than in Ireland, was a strong hand necessary for keeping in check those lawless baronies,\* who affected the power and displayed the pomp of independent sovereigns. William, Earl Marshal, seized on two manors, the property of the Bishop of Ferns. No entreaties could prevail on him to restore them. Albin, the Bishop, appealed to the Pope. Redress was promised. Without delay, the Archbishops of Dublin and of Tuam, and Tighernagh, Bishop of Clogher, were delegated to enquire into the matter. For their interference, they, together with the Bishop of Ferns, were attached. The obstinacy of the Earl brought on him the sentence of

<sup>b</sup> Leland, Appendix No. 1.

<sup>c</sup> It was a confirmation of the great original charter granted by Henry the First. That guaranteed that the temporalities of the Church, during a vacancy, should not be sold, or let out to farm.

<sup>d</sup> During times of confusion, especially since the invasion of the Danes, some exceptions appear to the general rule. In the life of St. Malachy, we learn that laymen, the descendants of those who founded the abbey of Down, undertook to dispose of it.

\* The possession of 30 Ballybetaghs was required for a Baron ; each Ballybetagh contained 120 acres.

excommunication, and under that sentence he died.<sup>f</sup> Alban was sent for by the king, and ordered to recall the sentence of excommunication against the deceased. Firm in the discharge of duty, whether in reproving the irregularity of the foreign clergy, or in maintaining the discipline of the Church against their monarch, the good Bishop of Ferns pronounced a conditional absolution. The condition required a restoration of the Church property by the heirs of the deceased. Without following any precise ritual, the Bishop laconically said, "If you restore the manors to the Church, I free your father from the excommunication; if not, not."<sup>g</sup> Like to the Earl Marshal, Meyler Fitzhenry made a nullity of the charter of freedom given to the Church. He attacked Clonmacnois, and put to the sword all whom he met. Houses were plundered; Churches and Monasteries rifled; and the sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar were given as booty to a licentious soldiery.<sup>h</sup> But if such people prove how the most beneficent designs of a monarch may be frustrated in such representatives, they no less strikingly exhibit the visible

<sup>f</sup> Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 440.

<sup>g</sup> Harris foolishly sneers at the proceeding, as if the fate of the deceased for good or ill, could be affected by the removal or non-removal of the censure. He should know, however, that the proceeding was in conformity with the practice of the Early Church. Origen was excommunicated 200 years after death by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria.—Socr. lib. 7, ch. 45. Theodore of Mospnessa after death was excommunicated by the fifth general council—Evagrius, lib. 4, ch. 38. There was no idea of freeing from mortal sin, by removing the sentence of excommunication. Civil effects followed from a continuance of the sentence. One was deprived of christian burial, and the public prayers of the Church.

<sup>h</sup> M'Geoghegan, p. 307.



interposition of providence in avenging the cause of the Church. It is a curious thing, and so noticed as such by the annalists of the time, that not one of the five sons of the excommunicated Earl, or of his fourteen brothers left issue.<sup>1</sup> Such sacrilegious plunderers, produced imitators occasionally even amongst the natives.<sup>1</sup> In some parts, the monastic bodies found it impossible to live in quiet, and so contrived to leave the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

If Honorius the third were well informed, the Irish Church was in a heathenish state. He issued a bull and addressed it to the Irish Bishops. He cautions them against heresy, inveighs against irregularities in the ministers of the altar, whom he compares to beasts wallowing in the filth of sin ; he upbraids the prelates with neglect of duty ; charges the religious bodies with a disregard of discipline, with not holding chapters regularly ; condemned the existence of pluralities, and wound up by inculcating reverence to the blessed sacrament.<sup>1</sup> That abuses existed cannot well be denied, for it was quite natural ; but it is quite certain that the account given of the state of things was furnished by an enemy and grossly exaggerated. Most probably the picture applied to, or was intended for the Province of Connaught. Because of the four Archbishops, the

<sup>1</sup> Cox, M'Geoghegan, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, 1219—Connellan's Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Liber munorum. It is not quite certain, whether those, who left the country were natives. They sent, we are told, a brother with the relics of the Patron Saints, Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille, to Henry III., and begged leave to build a convent in some part of England.

<sup>4</sup> Bullarium Romanum, Ed. of Coqueline, vol. 2, p. 212.

Archbishop of Tuam was the only one not summoned to the Council of Lateran.<sup>m</sup> This may have arisen from the fact, that the Archbishop of Tuam was uncle to Roderick last monarch of Ireland. Resistance to tithes is the only matter, as far as I am aware, that could be construed into a charge of heresy. The non-introduction of the tithe system was made use of by Gerald Barry, the court historian of the day, to give the blackest tint to the dark picture drawn by him of the Irish Church on the invasion of the English. I repeat, the account of the Irish Church was drawn by no friendly hand. The great heresy in connexion with the blessed sacrament was the not bowing the head at the elevation. Why we shall see in a very few years after this, that one of the grounds for the condemnation and suppression of the Templars in Ireland, was, that they *did* bow and look on the sacred host at the elevation. It were well there had been some fixed canon, besides the fluctuating prejudiced statement of the invader, for deciding on the character of a national Church.

Under the year 1218, the annalists make an entry, some of the terms of which have claimed whole treatises from Irish Church-historians. It is said, "that Mailosa O'Doighre, Erenach of Derry, after having done every possible service to the church, died." In explanation of the word "Erenach," then, I will endeavour in this paragraph, to give the substance of many writings. When Christianity was thoroughly recognized by the State, and the Church endowed with ecclesiastical property, persons employed to farm their property, or

<sup>m</sup> Besides the other three Archbishops, Constantine, Bishop of Killaloe attended the Council of Lateran.—Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 470.

collect the revenue of ecclesiastics were called "Erenachs." It was not necessary that the "Erenach" should be in holy orders. The most required was, that he should have gone, not to holy orders, but through a preparation for orders—"the first tonsure." While there is considerable difference on the origin of the word "Erenach,"<sup>a</sup> there is a perfect agreement as to the obligations which it imposed. Sometimes, indeed, the Erenach was in holy orders—and this took place when the Rector undertook to farm his own revenues<sup>o</sup>—but in general, the Erenach was not in holy orders,<sup>p</sup> even a female may be an Erenach.<sup>q</sup> Whatever revenues accrued to religious bodies from temporalities, or from tithes, were made over to the Erenach on condition of paying a certain sum. In order that the ministers of religion may not have been distracted from their spiritual functions, the Erenach was called in to farm the temporalities. He was lay impropriator. The consent of the Bishops in the beginning was necessary to the installation of the Erenach. Hence, the bishop, on his acces-

<sup>a</sup> Cormac in his Glossary, giving it a Greek derivation, traces it to the word "Archidiaconus" Colgan gives it an Irish derivation  $\Delta\eta\mu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\eta$ , that is, one in authority. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad. an. 1213, denies it to be derived from the word archdeacon. The  $\Delta\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\delta\epsilon\epsilon\chi$ , or archdeacon, he says, was different from  $\Delta\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\epsilon\epsilon\chi$ , "Erenach."

<sup>o</sup> Eugene O'Curry, quoted in Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon's interesting life of St. Malachy.

<sup>p</sup> Bevin, daughter of M'Conchaille, was Erenach of Derry, *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad an. 1134.

<sup>q</sup> Sir John Davis, Dr. O'Donovan, Ussher, Eugene O'Curry. Lord Gormanstown enquired what was meant by Erenach, and the Bishop of Derry answered that it meant a lay archdeacon. *Liber Munerum*. in an. 1640.

sion, got a fine or rent from the Erenach. The Erenach on the marriage of any of his daughters paid a certain sum to the Bishop, and besides made a weekly commemoration for the soul of the founder.<sup>r</sup> An inquisition taken in 1607 gives the opinion then entertained on the origin and nature of Erenachs. Twelve men on oath declared that, so early as the seventh century, Donell Hugh O'Neill granted lands free from all exactions, and one-third of the tithes to certain religious, the other two-thirds to the Rector ; and that Erenachs and Comorbans were appointed to take care of these lands, and that they should bear one-third of the expenses incident to the repairs of churches ; and, by and by when Bishops were established,<sup>s</sup> that they claimed a portion of what was within their diocese ; that, however, the Erenachs could not be removed by temporal or spiritual lords ; that all Termon lands were Erenach, and had privileges of sanctuary ;<sup>t</sup> but that hirenach lands were not always Termon lands ;

<sup>r</sup> Usher on Corbes, &c.

<sup>s</sup> We cannot avoid suspecting a Presbyterian bias to have influenced the declaration in the text. It is untrue to say, that, generally, the endowment of the Church with temporal property, preceded the appointment of Bishops ; because Bishops in great numbers were consecrated in St. Patrick's time ; whereas the declaration in the inquisition goes to say the contrary. Of course there may have been some district or Church that became a Cathedral or the Bishop's immediate mensal property in rather late ages ; but, in no sense, could it be said, that the Irish Church existed, with or without property, in the absence of an episcopal body.

<sup>t</sup> Termon lands, generally, were the ecclesiastic lands ; and to the property on them and to the tenants, immunities were extended. But the right of sanctuary, properly so called, was not extended to the ecclesiastical lands.

and that such a state of things continued substantially, in Cavan, Enniskillen, and Donegal, to the seventeenth century.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries circumstances bear out, with some modification, the above statement. In the year 1365 Milo, Archbishop of Armagh addresses his subjects, and tells them, that, with the consent of the Dean, and Chapter of Armagh, he gave and confirmed to his children in Christ, William and Arthur M'Bryne, the lands of Teachran, &c. to be held according to their ancient boundaries, with full right of Erenach to the Church of Kilmore; and that they were not to give these lands to any extern laic to be cultivated. The said William and Arthur were to pay annually a mark and eight pence sterling.<sup>u</sup> This state of things was not peculiar to Ireland.<sup>v</sup> But as the office of Chorepiscopus continued longer in Ireland than in other countries, so too did the office of Erenach.

On a correlative word to Erenach there has been some confusion. I allude to the word 'Comorban'.<sup>w</sup> It was a term applied to the successor of a Bishop or Abbot. To him belonged the Cathedral Church, the

<sup>u</sup> Swayn's Register.

<sup>v</sup> I am at a loss to know on what grounds Sir John Davis says, that the Erenach was peculiar to Ireland. Gerald Barry, in his *Itinerary of Wales*, assures us, that the Erenach was common to that country. Besides, Spelman, in his *Glossary*, says, "Sic enim, hæreditarium in Hibernia fit munus Herenach, non minus quam in partibus panormarini Vicedomini." A capitulary of Charlemagne in the year 805, prohibits the farming of the Archdeaconry, as a fee—See Ducange *Vicedominus*.

<sup>w</sup> Com (with), Forba (land), that is, a participation in possessions. Colgan, appendix 5th to St. Bridget's life, p. 631.

tithes, and temporalities.\* He ruled the people, or the community; had the first stall in the choir; and originally was in holy orders. In after times, lay usurpers, of course without orders, were called comorbans: because they succeeded to the temporalities enjoyed by the Bishop or Abbot. When a chief or prince founded a religious house, or procured the consecration of a Bishop for a certain church, he richly endowed the house or cathedral, and gave the lands free from tribute. Such was the case, in the instance already mentioned of Hugh O'Neil in the seventh century. He made over on the church the lands with the tenants and slaves.† The former of whom paid rent; the latter gave services. In process of time, influenced by avarice or irreligion the descendants of the pious and munificent founders seized on the donations of their ancestors. Services of a spiritual kind were attached to these possessions. Sometimes the comorban in the usurping family was consecrated; and thus was fit to fulfil the conditions, on which the pious donations were made. Very often the comorban, being a mere layman, got a minister for a mere trifle to discharge the spiritual functions necessarily annexed to the temporalities. Together with the temporalities he often kept the tithes. No church perhaps in Ireland was cursed with such a long line of usurpers of ecclesiastical property as the

\* Sir John Davis to Earl of Salisbury.

† See such grants of Henry II., and by the Archbishop of Dublin, John Walton, in 1473, in Usher on Corbes, who quotes an old Canon in the Cottonian Library. The canon empowered a Bishop to bequeath the price of a female slave, in lands or money. From the grants of Archbishop Walton in 1473, we can infer the existence of villeinage in Ireland to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

See of Armagh.\* For two hundred years it continued unbroken. The Comorbans claimed the title of successors to the founders of churches, whether Abbots, or Bishops. They bore the same relation to the whole diocese that the Erenach did to particular districts in that diocese.

\* Some of the usurping family were consecrated, others were married: they arrogated to themselves the title of successors to St. Patrick.—*Life of St. Malachy, by St. Bernard.*

## CHAPTER V.

THE only substantial practical novelty introduced at the Synod of Cashel, affecting the discipline of the Irish Church, was the system of tithes. Full fifty years had gone by, and there was no successful effort made by the secular power to establish them. The English settlers may have continued to their clergy in Ireland the same support which they had been in the habit of receiving in England. It is likely that in some parts of the three Provinces, Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, the tithe system was introduced; and not unlikely that the Irish in these places, not wishing to be outdone in generosity to the clergy by the strangers, paid tithes likewise. But before the present time, tithes were not generally paid or legalized in any place. In 1214, indeed Innocent III. addressed a bull to Henry Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, on the obligation of tithes. Addressing the Archbishop he says, "you have intimated to me, that most people backed by laical power refuse paying the tithes of fruits, of the fodder for animals, of mill and of labor : \* that others pay not to the cathedral churches, unless to those whom they like best, and as

At the fourth general council of Lateran it was decreed, that in paying tithes, there should be no deduction for the expenses of seed and tilling.—Canon LIV. Cabassutius, Not. Eccl. 440.



much as they please.<sup>b</sup> On which account in compliance with a request you humbly made to us, we order the payment of tithes. Let no person then dare to violate this our regulation, lest he incur the displeasure of God and of St. Peter."<sup>c</sup> From this document we can see, that even in Dublin, the stronghold of English power, there was a difficulty to get the tithe system established. Indeed tithes to some extent would appear to have been given. But in the year 1224, we are told that the tithes were legally gathered.<sup>d</sup> Of course they had the support of the secular arm. We do not hear that their introduction met with much if any opposition. The tithe system naturally must have been acceptable to the clergy. It must have been anxiously desired by the English clergy; for, unless impelled by the purest zeal, they must have been rather disappointed in coming to livings which did not include tithes as a source of revenue. Nor is it improbable that the native clergy hailed with pleasure their legal institution. Because in the confusion of the times, in the changing of property from one hand to another, they must have found the means of subsistence precarious. At the same time the clergy, I mean the native clergy, secular and religious, acted for ages in such a way as to leave no doubt, that they would risk tithes, and all the advantages which the stranger could offer them in the cause of national independence. The English clergy, with Loundres at

<sup>b</sup> This was the sort of tithe system which prevailed in the Early Irish Church, as we learn from old canons quoted by D'Acherry. See a former chapter.

<sup>c</sup> Alan's Registry, T. C. D.

<sup>d</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, by John O'Donovan.

their head, demanded, the Pope sanctioned and ordered, and the secular power enforced the payment of tithes.

But if the king had a large share in their institution in Ireland, it is very hard to believe that he was influenced by a love for the respectability and independence of the Church. Because we see, notwithstanding the charter which he confirmed on ascending the throne, that he tampered with the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. And even when only 12 years old, in the second year after coming to the throne, on a case litigated between the Bishop of Ferns and Earl Marshal, he allowed the spiritual courts, which entertained an appeal on the matter, to be attacked. It was the interest of the king, that the tithe system would prevail. Because thereby he calculated on more easily getting money, than if it remained in the hands of laics. To my mind an application was not made to the clergy more than once, in the year 1204, by King John—on that occasion he made it as a request.<sup>o</sup> Now however, an application was made in the tone of a demand, with the consent of the Pope, for the fifteenth of all religious and cathedral Churches, and a sixteenth of all their ecclesiastical property.<sup>f</sup> This grant may have been either to extricate him from the embarrassment in which the wars of the two last monarchs left him, or to defray the expenses of a pretended expedition to the holy land. At all events, on several occasions during the century money was obtained for the latter purpose.

We said that Henry, in the first year of his reign, confirmed the charter wrung from his father. One may expect fair play then for the Church, the more so, as

<sup>o</sup> See last chapter.

<sup>f</sup> Leland, B.. ii. ch. 1.

it was owing to the interest taken by Pope Honorius in him, and to the prudence of the legate, that he ever weathered the storm which threatened his minority.<sup>a</sup> The Pope had written to the Archbishop of Dublin, ordering him to excommunicate all who kept castles in their hands for overawing the king's power. And yet this same king, as far as in him lay, interfered with freedom of election. The Pope found it necessary to write to him, and insist on his acknowledging as Bishops such as were canonically elected.<sup>b</sup> In the face of the charter the spiritual courts were not allowed to decide on a question of patronage or presentation to a living. There had been a suit between the Bishops of Cloyne and Emly. The latter claimed a tenement in Kilcomyr in right of his See. Judgment was given in his favor. The former threatened the judge with excommunication, and appealed to the spiritual courts. An inhibition against the appeal was issued by the king, and a prosecution against the Bishop who lodged the appeal was instituted.<sup>c</sup> Did a clergyman die intestate his goods were declared the property of the king. The Sees, in many cases, for a whole year were kept vacant. Orders were issued to have those who contracted debts in the king's service or in that of his

<sup>a</sup> In confirming the charter, Henry makes no mention of the Peter pence. The payment of the 300 marks, for holding Ireland as a fief to the holy see, must have been implied by the promise. Because we learn from a letter written by Henry III. in 1235, that he paid 500 marks for England and Ireland.—Rymer, *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>b</sup> *Liber Munerum*. Rymer. Harris' Bishops, p. 494.

<sup>c</sup> 29 Henry III. Memb. 18th. Harris' Bishops. By the 28th of Henry III., the promotion of a Franciscan to an Irish Bishopric was forbidden. However the prohibition was afterwards withdrawn.

father indemnify themselves, by sweeping into their coffers the revenue of the vacant Sees.<sup>k</sup> Knowing the great account to which the temporalities of the Church might be turned, the English monarch from the very first laboured to have an indirect, but effectual influence in the appointment of Bishops. In granting lands to which knight's service was attached King John reserved to himself the donation of bishoprics. Even where the English power was but precariously established there the disposal of bishoprics was easily surrendered, as far as they were concerned, by the native princes. In Connaught, the king's consent had to be sought for the consecration of bishops.<sup>l</sup> Thus it happened on the occasion of the elections of Mælmurry O'Lachnan to the See of Tuam, in 1236.<sup>m</sup>

By this means the king had an opportunity of enriching himself during the vacancy of the Sees. And when he thought it time to nominate to the Bishopric, he got rid of the importunities of a troublesome suitor by promotion to the See.

In order to render the appointments valuable, the king much troubled himself at this time about the amalgamation of dioceses. In the year 1240, he issued orders to Fitzgerald who was justiciary, to unite Clogher to Armagh, on account of the poverty of the Archdiocese; and to put the Archbishop in possession of the lands. But the union did not take place, though there may have been some grounds for it. The difficulty formerly was in uniting dioceses, now, and in

<sup>k</sup> Harris' Bishops, p. 319.

<sup>l</sup> See Preface to Clyn's Annals, edited for the Archaeological Society.

<sup>m</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, by Connellan.

the next century, the great evil to be guarded against was the amalgamation of too many dioceses. The Archbishop of Armagh took Louth from Clogher and added it to Armagh. His predecessor, Albert, endeavoured to absorb Clogher entirely in the Archdiocese.<sup>a</sup> Before this, the same diocese had to give to Armagh the deaneries of Drogheda, Athirdee, Dundalk, and to the diocese of Derry the church of Ardsrath.<sup>o</sup>

If the Irish Church had to suffer from the encroachments of the king, it had to suffer no less from his ministers and subjects. In the year 1246, the king sent orders to have Ireland governed by the same laws as England enjoyed. But to no effect; the barons were no better than plunderers, made war on each other, and tyrannized over their inferiors.<sup>p</sup>

The legal institution of tithes in Ireland exposed the clergy to appeals to their charity, and demands on their justice. These appeals were made not only by the king, but by the pope. To understand this we must go back in spirit to the ages of the Crusades. Beginning at the end of the eleventh century seven in number they continued, with intervals of intermission, to the thirteenth century. Their object was to protect the Christian pilgrim in his devotion at the holy sepulchre, and to rescue the holy land from the pollution of the infidel.<sup>q</sup> Ultimately there was question of life and death, of preventing

<sup>a</sup> Louth was separated from Clogher, from the year 1247 to 1253.—Harris' Bishops, 66–67. D'Burgo, p. 458.

<sup>o</sup> Harris' Ware's Bishops, 282.

<sup>p</sup> Leland, B. ii. ch. 1.

<sup>q</sup> See Digby's Ages of Faith—Newman on Turks—Gibbon's Decline and Fall of Roman Empire, Vol. XI. p. 145—Michaud's History of the Crusades.

the Turks from overrunning Europe. The laics were ready to shed their blood; and it was thought not unreasonable, that, while others risked their lives, the clergy should give their money in so holy a cause.<sup>r</sup> So much had Innocent III. the holy cause at heart, that he resolved to eat, off earthen and wooden dishes, and melted down the gold and silver plate of his household, in order to defray the expenses incident to a Crusade. During this period the Popes found themselves at war with bad men, such as the Emperor Frederick. This was an additional reason for appealing to the generosity of his faithful children. The appeal was made to the English, but the Earl of Chester refused. The Irish Clergy granted a tenth.<sup>s</sup> They were not flush in money, or rather they were necessitated to sell their furniture and church utensils for the occasion.<sup>t</sup> In the short space of thirteen years another demand of a twentieth was made on them. They did not demur.<sup>u</sup> Again in 1247, though the demand by Innocent IV. on all the English dominions was only 11,000 marks, 6000 were contributed by the Irish. While the appeal of the Pontiffs sometimes met with a refusal from the English, it was always generously responded to by the Irish Clergy. Such donations after some time, were not free. At first the demand was made in the tone of a request; but by and by, custom gave to it the sanction of law. Excom-

<sup>r</sup> The privileges enjoyed by crusaders were, exemption from doing canonical penance, provided they went merely from devotion. 2. Their persons, goods, and estates, were placed under the protection of the Church. Some of course may have gone from bad motives. Con. Claramon. Cau. ii.

<sup>s</sup> Ware. <sup>t</sup> M'Geoghegan, ad. an. 1219, p. 310. Hanmer.

<sup>u</sup> Ware says, that Frederick intercepted and robbed the collectors. p. 61—Hanmer.

munications had been employed to enforce the demand for the Crusades : and the infidel in Europe was no less terrible than the Saracenic infidel.

In explanation of this practice and these views, some think that on the coming down of the Northmen the feudal spirit pervaded all society even the church. It was considered in a feudatory light. The economy of the church was likened to the civil polity ; and as all feudatories in the state were under the king, so were the clergy under the Pope.\* However, I think that a more satisfactory explanation of these historical results may be found in the Constitutional Law of Europe. By that law, and by his indirect temporal power, the Pope, while he pronounced sentence on a matter of conscience, could have summoned all Christendom to execute that sentence. For him it was competent to declare when there was an obligation on the part of the rich. He was the judge, and if there were disobedience in a serious matter, there was room for excommunication. The disregard of excommunication led to deposition in sovereigns, and degradation in the clergy.† However, frequent as were the demands made on the Irish Church there was scarcely ever a necessity of recurring to censures for enforcing them. The demands were met by the Irish with the same feelings which influenced the famous Groteste. They might say like him, "It is no wonder that we act so. It would be a greater wonder and shame, if, without being asked or ordered, we did not do as much or more ; for we see persons driven into exile, straitened by persecu-

\* Liagard, Vol. 2.

† See Gosselin on the Power of the Popes during the middle ages.

tion, stripped of their inheritance, deprived of a decent maintenance." \* Such were the objects to which the Irish Clergy devoted their contributions. They gave only what the sovereign Pontiffs in after trying times were but too happy to repay with interest.†

Unfortunately, during the period under review, up came the same acts of disorder and violence which characterized the early days of the invasion. They were such, that some Englishmen of spirit and honesty thought it necessary to make some compensation for them.‡ No wonder then, that Fitzgerald and Delacy, inured as they were to scenes of plunder, disavowed those acts which could be perpetrated, one would think, only by the Moslem. Sacred vestments, vessels of the altar were carried off. MacWilliam Burke took away, in the next year, every ounce of provision stowed into the Churches of Connaught. The inhabitants imagined that whatever was under the shadow of the sanctuary was safe. But their delusion about the extent and inviolability of sanctuary so fondly cherished was rudely dispelled. And if rank could ennoble crime, MacWilliam need not have felt ashamed ; for in the same year the Lord Justice burnt Termon Caollain.§ Fidlim O'Connor

\* Grote, i. Ep. 119.

† See the O'Renahan MSS., edited by the learned Dr. McCarthy, Maynooth, and Dr. Moran's Memoirs of Archbishop Plunkett, for the sums of money given during the 17th and 18th centuries by the Popes.

‡ Annals of the Four Masters, 1235, Ed. by Connellan. Archdall.

§ Termon lands were church lands. The term was derived from the Latin word "*terminus*," a boundary. The Bishop and King went out, and fixed the boundary stakes. Speaking of the decree of the Emperor Lothaire III., Du Cange says—"Ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Servatii solam in Trajectensi urbe habere decimas et *terminum*." Hence Termon Fechin, Termon-Senan.



demanding an eric for the massacre of 3000 Monks and Priests.<sup>b</sup>

Nor was there less reason to weep over the doings of the natives. While the invaders, generally speaking, pursued a course of plunder and sacrilegious burning, it was not, perhaps from irreligion, but to bring the natives under; on the contrary, the natives for no general good, having already no rational hope of national independence from divided plans, acted from the pettiest, most selfish motives. Connaught especially presented a lamentable appearance. The wars between the sons of Roderick for the chieftancy were of a disastrous character. Churches were plundered, as the annalists record, the learned and the clergy were driven into exile.<sup>c</sup> Such unnatural feuds were continued not merely for a year, but for a long series of years. So much was blind fury directed against sacred things and consecrated persons, that it is accounted for, only on the supposition that either the clergy took too decided a part with their chief, or that every thing was done by one, which he believed would naturally pain the other, his rival. The descendants of Turlough O'Connor burnt the Churches of Imlagh Brocadha over the heads of the O'Flyns, though there were in it women, nuns, and three priests.<sup>d</sup> Hugh violated the shrine of Roscommon; he was excommunicated with bell, book, and crozier, by the Bishop. The annalists do not fail to add, that a violent death was the consequence to the

<sup>b</sup> As English law would not be given to the natives, the friend or chief of the deceased demanded a mulct, instead of capital punishment, for the murders.—Leland, B. 2, ch. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, 1228.

<sup>d</sup> Annals of Kilronan, quoted by J. O'D. ad. an. 1236.

excommunicated.\* Similar instances are in abundance, which might appear just retributions arising out of a lawless sacrilegious course. Sober annalists tell us that Cathal O'Connor marching against O'Reilly stopped at the abbey of Fenagh. The Abbot was not at home. The convent, especially the dormitories, were in an unfinished state. On that account, tents were thrown up inside the walls under the roof of the house. The soldiers, whether accidentally or by design is not mentioned, burnt the tents. One of the students was smothered. On coming home in the evening, and finding one of his subjects dead, the Abbot demanded an eric. He fixed on him, who was represented to be the leading man in the pillaging party, as the man for whom ransom was to be paid. Manus Muinnagh was his name. But the plundering party, paying no regard to the demand, departed. They had not gone far, however, till they came to a river, deep and rapid. They got into a neighbouring Church and rifled it, in order to get beams to use as rafts over the river. Manus, on looking to the roof and superintending the work of demolition, was killed by a beam falling from the roof. It was the Church of St. John the Baptist. The annalists, with a degree of playfulness not peculiar to them in such circumstances, add that *then* the Abbot got an eric. The friends of Manus gave twenty steeds, and also as much money as filled the king's bell three times.†

As a counterpoise to these sacrilegious acts, many,

\* Ad. an. 1235, by Connellan.

† Annals of Four Masters, 1244. The King's Bell, or Cloz-na-Rjoch, was so designated, because it contained the water which baptized nineteen kings.—Book of Fenagh, quoted by J. O'D.

however, of quite an opposite character may be adduced. Throughout, a strong religious under-current ran beneath the surface. Or rather, visibly side by side with enormities, all the land over, and not unfrequently in the same person, may the manifestation of religious principle and devotional feeling be witnessed. The creative spirit was stronger than the destructive. Numerous new churches were built, and the old were beautified. Perhaps some 170 religious houses, during this century, were founded.<sup>a</sup> The Irish Church maintained its character also for hospitality. In all ages, indeed, even before the Christian Era, Ireland possessed its houses of hospitality. But it was only to the noble and mighty they were thrown open.<sup>b</sup> For Christianity it was reserved to prepare welcome cheer for the lowly and the poor. Biatachs were fitted up for the pilgrim and stranger.<sup>c</sup> A religious spirit, after all, leavened society, and exhibited itself in those magnificent structures, in which the Gothic style appears in its impressive development. They were houses, some of which served for spacious courts of justice, till a comparatively late period. They were truly national monuments.

There were many phases of the Catholic mind. People

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>b</sup> See the destruction of "Brughean an Derga" in *leabhar u-ríbhíne*, in R. L. A. O'Curry's MSS. Materials for Irish History, p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> Biatach houses represented the Xenedochium of earlier ages and other countries. The Biatach contained 16 Ballyboes; each Ballyboe contained 60 acres; that is, 960 acres entirely. *Liber Munerum*, Part 7th—Annals Four Masters, ad. 1225. The word must be distinguished carefully from Biataghs, which meant slaves or villeins.

loved to turn from images of wrong and turmoil to visions of peace and bliss. They assembled—the priests, and canons, and abbots, and people, with the primate at their head ; formed their religious processions ; and, from time to time, as well from a devotional feeling, as to call to mind and signify union with the holy see, (when almost all other union was gone), they exhibited the relics brought of old by St. Mochtheus from Rome.<sup>j</sup> But with peculiar pleasure did the Irish Church hear of the honors paid to the relics of its last canonized Saint, by foreign nations.<sup>k</sup> With peculiar rapture did the Irish priests and people venerate some of these relics.

There were, indeed, in these degenerate days, some holy souls, who by their sanctity deserved a place in native and foreign calendars, for the edification of the faithful. Christian O'Conarchy, who assisted at the council of Kells, was honored on the 18th of March in the English Martyrology.<sup>l</sup> Blessed Gelasius, who died, March 27th, 1174, is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal. Saint Machabeo, Abbot of Sts. Peter and Paul at Armagh, who died 31st of March the same

<sup>j</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, 1242—Connellan Ed.

<sup>k</sup> St. Laurence O'Toole was canonized by Honorius IV. in 1225. His relics were brought to the Canons Regular of Sanluce, near Paris ; to the abbey of St. Victor, and to the hospital of Hotel Dieu in Paris. One of his mitres was preserved in St. Genievieve, Paris. The death of the saints is called the natalis, or birth-day. "Hodie celebramus natalem, quod primicerius martyrum migravit e mundo."—St. Augustin, Ser. I. de sanctis martyrum, tom. x.

<sup>l</sup> Martyrology of Tallaght, p. 79, edited by the late Father Kelly of Maynooth. Those, who insist that the Martyrology of Tallaght was altogether drawn up by Ængus, near Dublin, with the aid of Maelruan, do not act wisely. Because it commemorates Blatchmac, son of Flan, King of Erin, who died July 19th, 823 ; and Feidlimid M'Crimbthan,

year, is the last of the thousands of saints in point of time, commemorated in domestic Martyrologies.<sup>m</sup> Blessed Cornelius M'Concaille, Archbishop of Armagh, who died June 4th, 1176, at Chambery, is honored there with a double office.<sup>n</sup> The great St. Malachy, companion of St. Bernard, was canonized on July 6th, 1190.<sup>o</sup> The days, however, were fast disappearing, when saints were the most prominent characters in Irish History; when they appeared spread out to an endless length over the moral horizon, numerous, in the words of the annalist, "as the stars of Heaven."<sup>p</sup> The

King of Munster, who died on the 18th, or according to the Martyrology, on the 28th of August, 843.—Annals of the Four Masters, Ængus lived in the 8th century,—See O'Curry's MS. Materials of Irish History.

<sup>m</sup> Et Supremum elogium esse potest, quod sit omnium suæ gentis, non meritis, sed tempore, fere postremus, quem domesticæ martyrologia titulo sanctitatis exerceant.—"Colgan, A.A.S.S. Over 2,000 Irish Saints appear in the Martyrology of Tallaght, supplemented by that of Donegal. Scores of Saints had the same name. There were 34 SS. Mochumios, 37 SS. Molnanos, 43 SS. Molais or Laisreans, 48 SS. Mochuanis, 200 SS. Colmans, 23 SS. Columbacs, 24 SS. Columbans. In fact, there were 62 classes of homonymous saints.—Colgan.—Nicholson's Historical Library. Ængus Ceile De.

<sup>n</sup> Ave, pater glorioso  
Salve praesul pretioso.  
Quondam pater Irlandæ,  
Nunc decus Subandiæ.

The quatrain might have been given in the first chapter of this work in connexion with the name of St. M'Concaille. But owing to the characteristic great kindness of the illustrious Primate of Armagh, Most Rev. Dr. Dixon, the author—only as the sheets were passing through the press—has been supplied with the very interesting notices of the life of "Blessed Cornelius," by the learned primate.

<sup>o</sup> Bullarium Romanum, vol. I. p. 42.

<sup>p</sup> Cambrensis Eversus, by Dr. Lynch, and edited and translated by Father Kelly, vol. 3. p. 399.

days had gone by, when persons came to Ireland to serve an apprenticeship for saintship. Not that indeed, with God's grace, a goodly number of holy men did not appear from time to time. Not that hundreds, during what may be called the "Era of the Martyrs," at and after the reformation, have not closed an useful and holy life by death for the Catholic faith. But Saint Laurence O'Toole stands out, as the last canonized one with the unerring sanction of Rome; and as closing that long line of saints, who covered the early Irish Church with imperishable glory. He was canonized by Honorius IVth, on the 3rd of the Ides of December, in 1225.<sup>a</sup> Some of his relics were brought to Dublin. It may have been worse than useless for his militant countrymen, in their crushed and divided state, to struggle like him for national independence. But amid their struggles, in their degradation, the solemn exposition in Christ's Church, Dublin, was a beacon-light to guide them to an unearthly, everlasting inheritance.

<sup>a</sup> Though there are various years assigned for the canonization, the Bullarium Romanum puts it to the date in the text. Dr. Lanigan relies on Messingham, instead of going, according to his usual course, to the original source. On that account, he quotes the Bullarium for the year 1226, which really puts it to 1225. Dr. M. Kelly, in the Martyrology of Tallaght, does the same.—Bullarium Romanum, vol. ii. p. 242.—Usher's Sylloge, Ep. 48.

## CHAPTER VI.

**F**EW of the English Monarchs owed more to the sovereign Pontiffs, than Henry III. For, when the nation was convulsed by wars waged against the Barons, and in which his father had to yield, Henry, a mere boy, was directed by the wisdom of the Pontiff, and the Barons were restrained by his paternal authority. Gratitude then, if not a sense of religion, might have left the holy see free in its dealings with the Irish Church. The last chapter, however, can teach us, how the charter of freedom was violated. The very legate from the Pope, coming on his holiness' pressing personal business, was obliged to throw aside the purple or legatine badge, in order that he may not give offence to Henry.<sup>a</sup> Henry while he paid little respect to the wishes of the Pontiff, had little to fear from the valor of the Irish. In the year 1258, O'Neil and O'Brien from Thomond agreed to meet, in order to take steps in concert against the common enemy. They did meet at Loch Erne; but as each came determined, that himself at all events should be leader, no good, as a matter of course, came of the interview. Both were dead before the expiration of two years; and the chain thrown over the country was more firmly riveted than ever.<sup>b</sup> The native chiefs

<sup>a</sup> Hadmer.

<sup>b</sup> Annals Four Masters.

were divided, stripped of their inheritance, the people were driven to the bogs and mountains ; the heel of the oppressor was firmly pressed on the country. In this state of things, the monarch was at liberty to trample on the liberty of the church. The most worthless and ignorant of the English Clergy filled the richest prebendal stalls.<sup>c</sup> In direct violation of the terms of the charter confirmed by him on his accession to the throne, Henry reserved to himself, the profits of the vacant sees, instead of employing them for charitable purposes. Hence it was, that the Irish Bishops commissioned Herbert de Burgh, Bishop of Limerick,<sup>d</sup> to go to Rome, and lay their grievances before the holy see. Some opposition from the king, and the death of Herbert at Rome, prevented further steps in that matter. However, thinking it high time to take measures in prevention of the church being enslaved as the nation, of being monopolized as the offices of state by greedy adventurers, the Irish Bishops met in the year 1250. They resolved to admit no Englishman to a Canonry in their churches. In the then prostrate state of the country it was a bold resolve. But as if the power of the king and his countrymen were not sufficiently strong against a poor persecuted church, the authority of the Pope was pressed into their service. Artful misrepresentations, no doubt, were made in order to prejudice the ear of Innocent IV., the then reigning Pontiff. The resolution of the Irish Bishops was represented as the result of a narrow national antipathy. As on many previous, and subsequent occasions, misrepresentation had its intended effect. The Pope ordered the rescinding of

<sup>c</sup> Leland.

<sup>d</sup> Harris' Bishops, page 506.



the resolution ; that the church should be thrown open to all, and not kept for the benefit of a few persons or any individual nation.\*

Beyond question, the pope acted from the best, most disinterested, motives. It would have been more to his personal interest—if what was spent for the good of the Church by him could be called personal—that benefices should have been enjoyed by Irish rather than English incumbents. Because the latter could not be got, on all occasions, to relax their grasp of money at the demand of Rome. Not so with the Irish clergy. They may have been in difficulties, but they always lent a willing ear to an appeal from Rome. The demands were frequently made during the remaining portion of this century, by the pope and the king ; by the former for the wars, in which he found himself engaged : by the latter under pretence of joining the crusade. The money got for an expedition to rescue the holy sepulchre, was often diverted by the king into his own coffers. The king required the help of the pope, and the pope sometimes found the co-operation of the king to be of use. For the landing of a legate, the king's leave was required, and sometimes refused. If the king insisted, that the money came from his lands, the pope, on the other side maintained, that once in the possession of the clergy, it belonged to the Church. Again the king urged, that the withdrawal of the money to Rome or elsewhere, impoverished the realm—with the strongest reasons then, did the English monarch send four of his nobles, in the year 1245, to the council of Lyons. He would have them protest against the withdrawal of money

\* *Liber Munerum, Cambrensis Eversus*, by Dr. Lynch.

from the kingdom, especially the yearly sums promised by King John for the lordship of Ireland.<sup>f</sup> However, one is surprised to find in 1278, that Edward paid for himself and his predecessor Henry, the sum of 8,000 marks for the kingdom of England and Lordship of Ireland.<sup>g</sup> The heaviest part of what was paid, was borne by the Church. Hence Henry writes to the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, to the Provincials of Franciscans and Dominicans, in order to their preaching a crusade.<sup>h</sup> In the following year, 1251, Innocent IVth wrote to the bishops to have the money collected in the last year forthcoming.<sup>i</sup> In 1270 the pope, for his wars against the king of Arragon, required tithes from all promotions during three years.<sup>k</sup> In 1270, Henry wrote to demand for his wife Eleanor, the tenth promised by the pope, during three years.<sup>l</sup> In 1280, Edward the first, under pretence of a Crusade to the holy land, obtained a tenth from the clergy, and afterwards demanded a fifteenth.<sup>m</sup> In the year 1291, Nicholas IV. directed a bull to the Bishop of Meath, and to the Dean of Dublin, by virtue of which the tenths of ecclesiastical benefices in the four Arch-dioceses, during six years, for the holy land were given to Edward.<sup>n</sup> In 1297 Edward

<sup>f</sup> *Upodeigma Neustriæ* by the Monk of St. Alban's, p. 464.

<sup>g</sup> *Annals of Baronius*, ad an. No. 40.

<sup>h</sup> *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibd.*

<sup>k</sup> *Hanmer, Ware's Annals*.

<sup>l</sup> *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibd.*, "*Gesta Anglorum*," which says that the fifteenth was refused.

<sup>n</sup> The Dean was to act, not the Bishop of Dublin: Lest he may appear to exercise any authority over the exempt houses in Meath. The Dean was empowered to absolve, in due circumstances, any who may have incurred excommunication or irregularity by not having paid

again applied for a subsidy ; but whether he got it or not, certain it is, that he appropriated to his own purposes a tenth already received for a crusade to the holy land. The appropriation was sanctioned by Pope Boniface. Such were the exactions of this English Monarch, at this time, that the holy see interposed between Edward and the Irish Church, and at the close of the century fulminated excommunications against any laics who would claim, or clergyman who would comply with, exacting demands. The tithe system, and the clergy appeared only a convenient means, in the hands of the monarch, for extracting money from the people—money that might otherwise be sparingly and reluctantly given. Exactions, and appointments of the most worthless English to Irish prebends by the king, were not the only evils the Irish Church suffered. Orders were issued to the chief justice by Edward, to appropriate the revenues of the vacant Sees, and to turn the temporalities to the best account. As a result of such a course, we find the See of Dublin vacant for seven years. The Lord of Ireland, so the English monarch was called, insisted on the presentation to the vacant Sees.

The representative of a long line of kings, and himself styled king of Connaught at the time, dared not present to a living endowed by his fathers, to a living of the poorest kind and requiring a speedy appoint-

said tenth. The houses of Clunie (the Cistercians) of Premonstre, of St. Benedict, of St. Augustine, of Carthusians, Grandimontenses, and those of other orders, were subjected to the tax. Owing to the expense, they were at, the Templars, and Hospitallers were exempted — *Liber Munerum*.

° Leland, B. ii.

ment.<sup>p</sup> Even in the remotest parts of Connaught, the election of a candidate by the Chapter to the See of Tuam, and his confirmation by the Pope, did not deter the English monarch from objecting to the choice.<sup>q</sup> Nor was this all. Jealousy and tyranny towards the Irish Church took another form. The old times had gone by, when the people and monarch accompanied with valedictory greetings and blessings, to the seashore, the prelate, who proceeded on a journey to Rome. At the present time every obstacle was thrown in the way of such visits. And though, so early as the days of St. Laurence O'Toole, the same jealousy was manifested by Henry II., yet till the present, we did not see it systematically acted on. Jealously limited was the time of absence. Even during that absence, the temporalities of the absent prelate were invaded by some grasping baron, or selfish Bishop. The most foolish pretext for attack on the undefended See was admitted. Bishops absent on the affairs of their diocese, or on the usual visits to the tombs of the Apostles, could not appoint procurators for their Sees. In the year 1255, Alexander III. had to write to Henry III. in reference to the absence of the Archbishop of Armagh. The Pope expressed a wish, that, as injury was done to the See of the Archbishop on a former occasion, by his absence, he may be allowed to be represented by a pro-

<sup>p</sup> Liber Munerum. The king of Connaught in applying for leave to appoint to the See of Achonry, said that it would suffer, without being immediately filled, and that it was not worth more than 20 marks. A mark was 13s. 4d.

<sup>q</sup> In the year 1283, Edward wrote to the Cardinals, complaining that the person chosen for the Arch-Diocese of Tuam was obnoxious.—Liber Munerum.

curator.\* Otherwise in his absence, the most absurd suit against him could not be defended. No difficulty, on the other hand arose from absence on the king's service. Hence to the absence of men like the Bishop of Meath, who may be absent for three years, every facility was afforded.\*

While there was an unmistakeable disposition on the part of the temporal power to make the Church its creature, or hamper its freedom of action, it is lamentable that the Church did not realize its position. To the hostility arrayed against it, the Church did not exhibit either union or disinterestedness. For, in the year 1251, M'Flin, Archbishop of Tuam, succeeded in uniting Enaghdone to his See. It was not done without opposition. During the seventy years following, there were disputes about, and nominations to, the See of Enaghdone. These disputes happened even during the lifetime of M'Flin. From time to time, the king proposed or favored a candidate for Annadown.† At the close of the century, too, on the accession of a new Archbishop, the ring and mitre of the Bishop of

\* Liber Munerum. In 1281, a writ of protection was given to the Bishop of Waterford. There were two kinds of writs. One was styled "Cum clausula volumus"—the other, "cum Clausula Nolumus." The latter was given to a spiritual company, principally to secure their cattle from being taken by the king's minister. The "cum clausula volumus" was of four kinds; firstly, it was given to one, who was to pass the seas, in the king's service; secondly, it was given to one, who was abroad for the king's service; thirdly, it gave protection to the king's debtor, till the king's debts were paid; fourthly, it gave protection to one beyond the seas, or the marches of Scotland, against suits.—Fitzherbert, *Natura Brevium*.

† *Fœdera of Rymer (Old)*, ad. an. 1263.

† *Harris' Ware's Bishops*, p. 606.

Enaghdune were taken away." The same Archbishop did not stand on better terms with the religious orders, than with his brother Bishop. A scandalous dispute arose between them. It would appear, that a chapter or conference was held by the Archdeacon of Tuam at Athenry. Either because they were not invited, or because the Archdeacon insisted on their attendance, the Dominicans took offence. They were excommunicated. All were interdicted from communicating with them. At last, they were necessitated to invoke the aid of the secular arm.\*

Turning to an opposite part of the kingdom, a like spirit of encroachment is met with. In the year 1252, complaints were forwarded by the Bishop and people of Clogher to the Pope, Innocent IVth, against a man, who of all others, was bound to give an example of both moderation and order. The relations between the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragan were of an unpleasant nature. The visitations of the Archbishop were so frequent, and burdensome, that the canons were appealed to. Before they could understand each other, a complaint of the grievance was made by the Bishop of Ferns to the Pope. The see of Dublin, which ought to have been a model Church for the the rest of the kingdom, was a scene of dissension. Nor was this all. Christ Church and St. Patrick's warmly contended for pre-eminence and power. The cause of the dispute was laid a long time before the present. Archbishop Comyn restored St. Patrick's, and his successor Henry Loundres raised it to the rank of a Cathedral Church. Hence arose the dispute, as to which should retain the power

\* Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 606.

† Ibid.

to elect a Bishop. Archbishop Luke attempted an adjustment of claims. He decided, that St. Patrick's should have a voice, but that the election should take place in Christ's Church. The decision, however, did not put the matter to rest. It was revived during the incumbency of Archbishop Ferrings. While pronouncing the claims of both to be equal, he adjudged precedence to Christ's Church.\* In addition to disunion, a spirit of subordination to legitimate authority supervened. The Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Meath set about exempting themselves from the jurisdiction of the Primate. The Archbishop of Tuam set up a claim of independence, in imitation of the Archbishop of Dublin; the Bishop of Meath, because he was often either treasurer or chancellor. However, order maintained its supremacy. In 1255, the Pope wrote a letter, by which he empowered the Archbishop of Armagh to visit the Archdiocese of Tuam.† In January 1262, a synod was convened by the primate. The Archdioceses of Tuam and Dublin were represented. The Primatial right over Meath and Tuam was acknowledged. The right of visitation, even in the absence of any offence in the Bishops of either, was promulgated. The right was acknowledged not long after, in the person of the Primate's commissioner. With regard to Tuam, the right to visit it, not only every seventh year as before, but even every fifth, was advanced and recognized. The stay of the Primate during visitation, however, was limited to twenty-seven days.‡

Want of mutual forbearance between members of the Episcopacy, absence of brotherly attachment between

\* Harris' Bishops, p. 518.

† Baronius, ad an. 1255, n. 40.

‡ Harris' Ware's Bishops, 66.

the metropolitan and the suffragan, of union between members of the same Chapter, rendered the Church comparatively powerless for that measure of good, which was so much needed. United, the Church may have opposed a strong barrier to tyranny. At least it might have been all-sufficient, to teach the people to sanctify themselves by turning to account those calamities, which they may not ward off. But disunited, it neither defended itself nor lessened the misery of the people. On the contrary, while the sufferings of the people were aggravated, the privileges of the Church were curtailed. One chief or baron made war on his neighbour. Each lived, as if there were no community of interests. A lot of idle retainers was kept on hands, the support of whom precipitated a foray on the neighbour. The Irish, selfish and turbulent, lived as if they had no common foe to expel. The settlers lived as though they had not an unforgiving enemy to keep under. The M'Carthys slew some of the Geraldines and eighteen barons; and the Geraldines seized and imprisoned the chief governor D'Burgo.\* To the Irish for whose correction a bull was got from Adrian IVth, was denied the benefit of English law. And though there is no excuse for the master, who kept in his employment bad servants, yet to the credit of the king be it mentioned, that he wished to extend the benefit of English legislation to the Irish. The Anglo-Norman barons, however, contrived to excuse themselves, by saying, that a sufficient number of peers could not be got together for such an important step. Again in 1280, Edward I. wrote and required, no matter how few were the Peers, that a council should be formed; and that the English rights and privileges,

\* Leland, B. 2, ch. I.



for which the Irish offered 8,000 marks, should be afforded them.<sup>a</sup> But the English barons found their account in refusing such a boon. Laws were made to prevent one assuming the garb of an Irishman. The reason assigned against the assumption of an Irish dress was, that death sometimes happened to the English from its adoption.<sup>b</sup> Here, then, were a people denied the benefit of those laws, by the invading strangers, who justified their invasion on the pretext of anxiety to impart these laws. Here then were two races on the same land in necessary hostile antagonism. Such were the subjects whom the Churches were called on to fit for Heaven. A delicate task for any, but especially for those Churches, which shared the prejudices, and to some degree, the passions of the rival subjects.

While the Church presented the same features of disunion as the state, it did not fail being shorn of its privileges. The people of Dublin encouraged by the mayor, set about curtailing the offerings to the clergy. In consequence, regulations were made by which people were forbidden making oblations on every Sunday. Such had been the practice for a long time. Thenceforth no one was to make an oblation oftener than four times a year. No more than two persons were to attend for the future, at a marriage or churching. This cut off a great source of emolument. For, the perquisites varied directly with the numbers in attendance. It would appear too, that a large quantity of light was used in processions at funerals. The unburnt candles went to supply the Churches within whose precincts

<sup>a</sup> Leland, who thinks the money was offered only by the natives within the Pale.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, B. 2, ch. I.

the burial took place. The mayor and his party allowed only two wax lights to the Church. They prohibited any case of usury being brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal. To it, only testamentary and matrimonial cases were consigned. From it, then, was withdrawn the cognizance of goods of an intestate. The mayor and citizens insisted that no person, even in ecclesiastical matters, should be dragged beyond the city. Of course such encroachments could not be tamely borne by the Archbishop and the clergy. They warned the citizens to lower their pretensions, and rescind their resolutions: but to no effect. Excommunication was launched, and an interdict was thrown on the city. To proceed canonically, the clergy notified the conduct of the citizens to the Pope's legate, Cardinal Othobon, then in London. He at once issued orders to the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, to denounce the rebellious with bell, book and candle-light, in all places within the province and city of Dublin.

It is more than probable, that yielding to the terrors of excommunication, the citizens withdrew their obnoxious laws. But with regard to other matters, we find a curious agreement entered into in the following year. It may make us smile, but assuredly it ought to make us pause before we judge of a measure of any age by the customs of another age. In 1268, it was agreed on by common consent, that if one committed a public sin—if the first offence—he may commute it for money; that if he continue in the sin, and the same be public and enormous, that then he be cudgelled about the church of Saint Patrick's; and that if still he persisted in the sin, the official of the Archbishop should give notice of it to the mayor and bailiffs. It became their

duty then to turn him out of the city or cudgel him through it. It was decreed that after such public sins there should be a yearly inquisition. But in no case could any official of the Archbishop draw one beyond the jurisdiction of the city. Every offender was to be tried within the city.\*

When such bold encroachments were attempted by the subject, we can easily imagine still more sweeping innovations to have been tried by the prince, against the privileges of the church. The king's license to an election was required: More than that, the elect had to present himself before the king in England. And whenever he was exempted from the obligation it was on condition that the concession should not be drawn into precedent. But against the exercise of functions, which the Bishops claimed as spiritual and temporal lords, the most serious encroachments struck. In all ages, Priests of every sort of religion exercised influence in various degrees on the affairs of state. Surely Christianity, whose mysteries were too sublime for the dignity even of angels, was well calculated to insure respect for its ministers. Hence the church made its laws, and the state sanctioned them. Emperors and christian magistrates took the decrees of councils; incorporated them into the body of civil law; and gave them temporal sanctions. Scarcely was there a point of faith, or general discipline, which the state, as the handmaid of the church, did not sanction. Not merely did society take its tone in the making of laws from Christianity, but it allowed christian ministers to apply these laws

\* Niger liber. See Gilbert's History of Dublin, a work of original merit.

to particular cases, It made them judges. The ground was laid for such a state of things by the advice of St. Paul.<sup>d</sup> He cautioned the faithful against dragging each other before infidel judges. There was a scrupulous delicacy on the part of the early Christians in reference to such suits. Litigated matters were referred to the Bishops. By and by, when Christianity gained ground, and made converts on the throne of the Cæsars, the power, which faith and religion at first gave to the bishops, was confirmed by the devotion of the newly converted. Liberty was given to the laics, to bring their disputes before the ecclesiastical superior, and to decline the judgment of secular tribunals. The judgment of the bishop was made more binding than that of the laic; and the governors were ordered to see to its execution.<sup>e</sup> Subject to some restriction, this power in bishops was confirmed by the emperors Honorius and Arcadius. The restriction required that both parties should have appealed to the bishop, and that there should not be question of criminal matters. Justinian would have bishops tried, only by a council or patriarch, and clerics and virgins, in civil matters, tried only before a bishop. The sentence was open to an appeal. But in criminal matters, they may be cited before either the ecclesiastical or civil tribunal. Bishops may inflict temporal penalties on criminals.<sup>f</sup> When reason and religion and positive law, then, attributed such fit-

<sup>d</sup> See St. Paul to the Corinthians.

<sup>e</sup> Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 1., ch. 9.

<sup>f</sup> *Devoti Just. Canon*, tom. iv. lib. iv. tit. 1, n. 10. St. Augustine urges Marcellinus, in the year 412, to punish the Donatists, not by fire and the rack, but by rods, as a father.—Tom. II. p. 396, Ep. ad. Marcellinum—Bingham, *Eccles. Orig.*

ness for the office of judge to a bishop, in the Universal Church, and clothed him with such ample powers, we may be prepared to see the fullest measure of power, forced on the fathers of the Irish Church by the most obedient and loving spiritual children. Because, perhaps there is not a nation in Europe, which has, at all times evinced such reverence and attachment to its priests as Ireland. Hence amid trials and difficulties, which made a wreck of most of the northern churches in Europe, the faith of the Irish Church has been kept inviolate. Superior knowledge and the veneration with which he was looked up to, gave an incalculable weight in the eyes of the Irish to the words of the priest. Even the "termoners," or ecclesiastical tenants, decided the ordinary disputes of their locality.<sup>a</sup> In civil affairs, aye in matter of life and death, the word of the priest was supreme. Hence the desire of the warrior chief or king to have the priest by his side in the day of battle. His presence, together with the relics of the saints, was deemed necessary to ensure success, to minister to the spiritual wants of the dying, to influence the chief in his treatment of the prisoners.<sup>b</sup> Such had been the

<sup>a</sup> At the request of the Termoners, even culprits were pardoned.—MSS. in the Lambeth Library—Annals Four Masters, 1496, by John O'Donovan.

<sup>b</sup> Though familiarity, generally, begets disappreciation, yet, strange enough, the more intimate the connexion of the Priest with the People, the greater had been his influence with them. This has been peculiarly true during ages of persecution, ever since the Reformation. Of course, there were great obstacles to the perfection, to the retired interior life which should be exhibited in the conduct of the Priest. The people look with great jealousy on a detachment, or apparent estrangement from their cause. Till the rights of both are won back, the greatest concern on the part of the Priest for the temporal wants of the people

close union between the priests and the chief, at the marriage feast, the wedding day, the rousing christening, at the really mournful funeral, in joy and sorrow, that it was with difficulty in the eighth or ninth century, the Irish monarchs were induced to dispense, during their war-like expeditions, with the attendance of their priests.<sup>1</sup>

Before the coming of the English the power of the Irish clergy was to some degree undefined, and unlimited. Afterwards, the privileges of the order, though abridged, were however sufficiently ample. Agreeably to the old Roman law, and to the spirit of the age, matters involving essentially question of right or sin were supposed to belong to the bishops as such. At the same time their position as temporal lords implied extensive jurisdiction. On that account, to bishops as spiritual and temporal lords, belonged questions of fact and right in connection with all civil matters. Monks as well as bishops enjoyed these privileges. There can be no doubt, that all civil pleas with the fines, (the power of life and limb retained,) could be disposed of by the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>2</sup> Gradually the church was shorn of its privileges, so that in the year 1276, the king appointed twelve men as jurors to decide, whether it would be an injury to the Archbishop of Cashel, to have a prison built on his bailiwick. They found that it would not. But the Archbishop denounced it as infringement on the liberties of the borough,

consistent with a regard to still higher duties, will be attended with great good. Catholicity is not antagonistic to Nationality. On the contrary—What is to be feared is the neglect of the former, without advantage to the latter.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> See the charters in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii.

and excommunicated all, who were concerned in the matter. From the sentence of excommunication,<sup>1</sup> the king, queen, and their children were excepted. So rigidly did the Archbishop enforce the excommunication that the king appealed to the pope. Indeed before this time, in the year 1251, some acts of encroachment, of this sort, on the church turn up, but did not appear to have been sanctioned by royal authority. The Archbishop of Tuam found it necessary to complain, that justice was not done his subjects : they were dragged beyond their own provinces. The Archbishop went to England to forward the complaint. The grievance was redressed.<sup>m</sup> There were instances of want of respect—of legalized outrage to the sacred character of bishops. In violation of the general canons of the church, and without a precedent in the series of Irish Annals, for some petty imagined offence, Archbishop Rooney was cast into prison.<sup>n</sup>

As time went on, the attacks against the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishops became frequent, and systematic. In the year 1297, the Bishop of Down was proceeded against, by a "quo warranto" for exercising jurisdiction over pleas of the crown. In all lands of Ulster, he claimed all pleas as belonging to his court,—four excepted.—These were Treasure trove, Rape, Murder and Hamsoken. He was charged too with

<sup>1</sup> Harris' Bishops, 490.

<sup>m</sup> Harris' Ware's Bishops, 606. Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>n</sup> Annals of Kilronan, quoted by J.O'Donovan, ad. an. 1216, note c. "No one must presume to cite a cleric before a secular judge, without the Bishop's permission, but that the punishment of the cleric, however, must double that of laics."—*Spicilegium D'Acherry*, lib. xx. cap. 26, lib. xxxiv. ch. 7—Irish Synods.

drawing up constitutions, which were to exclude all Englishmen from livings in the Irish Church. The latter charge he denied, and added that, saving his episcopal rights, he threw open all his abbeys to Englishmen. He was accused of taking an eric for the death of an Englishman. But he pleaded in justification, that his predecessors acted in like manner. When asked did he keep a coroner, he answered in the negative, but added, that his seneschal discharged the duties of coroner. At the same time he acknowledged that the coroner had not sworn to the king. A nominal fine was got against the Bishop. But, because he pleaded precedent in justification of his conduct, the fine was remitted. The cause of the king, however, triumphed.<sup>o</sup>

In matters even, which appeared to belong to the Bishop as spiritual judge, the secular power interfered. To what extent encroachments were made on the Christian courts, we can judge from a letter addressed by the Pope to Henry the third.<sup>p</sup> Remonstrances from the Irish Bishop had no effect with the king. Complaints were made to Rome. In consequence Urban the fourth addressed Henry in the year 1261. The Pope complained that, in violation of an old and approved custom, the king did not allow the Archbishop of Dublin, and other ecclesiastics to decide on monetary matters, on cases of possession, especially when there was question of a promise or oath between subjects; that he did not allow clerics to sue each other in their own courts;<sup>q</sup> that he arrogated to himself, to decide on

<sup>o</sup> Harris' Bishops, 199.

<sup>p</sup> Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. 2, p. 533.

<sup>q</sup> Valentinian III. decreed, that clerics might be tried before the Bishop, with consent of both parties. It was not allowed a cleric,



tithes ; that the ecclesiastics were not allowed to punish usurers,<sup>r</sup> adulterers ; that they were not allowed to decide what portion should be given to the wife on the event of a divorce, or cases of slander ; that they were not allowed to decide or enforce testamentary arrangements, wills or bequests ; that the betagii (villeins) were not capable of making bequests ; and that if the clergy hurl excommunication against the delinquent, the king's ministers did not allow it to have effect. The Pope concluded by saying, "that he may not have to render an account to Almighty God, if the complaints be founded on fact, he will commission the Archbishop to proceed against all offenders by censures." What was the effect of this remonstrance is not mentioned. But, if attended to for a time, it was soon forgotten. At all events in the year 1272, we find the king laying claim to the property of an usurer, Reginald Mactore, which amounted to £400. It was previously seized on by the Archbishop of Cashel.<sup>a</sup>

In the year 1292, the Bishop of Cork, because he tried pleas, which were said to belong to the crown, was

under the Gothic Kings, to appear before a secular tribunal.—*Con. Agath. Agdæ*, c. 32. "*Episcopale Judicium, ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus, elegerunt, eamque eorum jurisdictioni adhibendam esse reverentiam jubemus, quam vestris deferri necesse est potestatibus, quibus non licet provocare.*"—*Just. Cod. lib. I, tit. 4, leg. 8.*

<sup>r</sup> The property of dead usurers, so early as in the time of Henry II. was claimed by the state. That of living usurers was not, because they might repent.—*Glanville*, VII. 16. Twelve per cent. was the highest interest allowed by the Roman law. It was the "*centesima*," because the principal was supposed to be divided into one hundred parts. One part was taken every month, and paid to the creditor—so that twelve of the hundred parts were taken every year.

<sup>a</sup> Harris' Ware, p. 472.

fined in £130. While the English monarch endeavoured to withdraw all jurisdiction from the Bishops as temporal Lords, in matters of fact, there were many cases involving sin or right, which he allowed to be carried to the ecclesiastical courts. To these courts belonged, as admitted by the king, defamation, matrimonial cases, testamentary arrangements, violence to clerics, or a violation of ecclesiastical immunity, in fine, whatever evidently constituted a mortal sin. King Edward wrote to his justiciary in Ireland not to molest the ecclesiastical judges in reference to several matters. Adultery ; fornication ; a crime for which a pecuniary fine was inflicted (especially if the guilt of the defendant were evidently established, and if that defendant were a free man,) also the non-closing of a cemetery ; or the leaving a church unroofed or devoid of decent ornament ; all cases that entailed only a pecuniary mulct ; questions arising out of customary dues, and tithes ; actions brought by the rector against the rectory for the recovery of the greater and lesser<sup>t</sup> tithes, provided the one-fourth were not demanded ; questions on customary mortuaries ; cases in which a prelate as defender of a certain Church demanded a pension ; cases of defamation with some limitation—all were conceded to have fallen under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court.<sup>u</sup>

From the foregoing classes of cases, to which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was limited, any one acquainted with the ample privileges given, even in the Anglo-Irish

<sup>t</sup> Under the lesser tithes were included, first fruits, St. Patrick's ridge, a certain quantity of the first brewing of the ale.

<sup>u</sup> Registry of Palatian, T.C.D.

charters, will perceive a great abridgment of the prerogatives of the Irish Church. In one point, however, there appears to have been, since 1268, a concession to the Church. Just now we saw that Edward directed the justiciary not to entertain any question in reference to a certain class of cases, which had been decided in the Ecclesiastical courts. This appears to have repealed the 6th in the number of articles drawn up in the reign of Henry III. The article declared, that a matter decided on definitively in the Ecclesiastical courts, may, with consent of both parties, be opened anew in the King's court.\* The ecclesiastical and secular power came in collision in reference to visitations. It had been customary that the Bishop in person, or by his commissaries, should go about annually, and inquire about men's sins. If one could not clearly establish his innocence, he was at liberty to get twelve men who could vouch for his guiltlessness. By his orders, the King's bailiffs issued instructions, that no person accused of crime should, otherwise than by his own hands,† clear himself before the Bishop's commissaries. However, the King yielded the point, and the

\* Palatian's Registry, T.C.D. Though this regulation was made in England, and without mention of Ireland, yet I consider it to have been applied to the latter country, as it was inserted in the Registries of the Armagh Primate.

† Harris (Bishops, p. 145) understands the phrase "by his own hand," to be used in opposition to the twelve compurgators, who were to swear to a belief in the innocence of the accused. This opinion is rendered most likely, by the fact, that Dantsey (*Horæ Decanæ*) says that twelve were required in Ireland to free one. Besides, in the year 1440, John Mey, Archbishop, summoned a person to acquit himself of the charge of adultery with Agnes Herdman, and twelve men are mentioned in connection with the case.—Mey's Register, T.C.D.

inhibition was withdrawn. Limited and defined with lawyer-like precision as was the influence of the Anglo-Irish Church, in comparison to that enjoyed by the early Irish Church, yet it was, year after year, attacked and lessened. At first all the King required was, that his writ would run in the bailiwick of prelates ; that they could not decide on matters which involved the forfeiture of life or limb ; and that they could not create barons.<sup>a</sup> In the course of time, there was an effort made to withdraw from their courts almost every case that did not essentially involve sin. Down to the Reformation, however, in the sixteenth century, the exclusive right of the Church to dispose of testamentary, matrimonial, and defamatory cases, was untouched and undisputed. The spiritual courts took cognizance of every act or word which was calculated to defame. They were admirably adapted to prevent the stinging word from being resented by a deadly blow. Tribunals for such a purpose, useful at all times, were peculiarly, essentially so *then*. Because, in these real courts of honor, while the scale of punishments was graduated according to the shades of defamation, the opinion of the judges was formed, not on false and often demoralizing maxims of worldly prudence and fashion, but on the eternal principles of morality and religion. Every charge of defamation, from the most withering blasting calumny to the mere harmless expression of transient anger, received a calm discussion. It is wonderful how many cases of defamation turn up in the Registries ;

<sup>a</sup> The King's writ did not run in the districts of the great palatines—they created the lesser barons.—Sir John Davis' *Historical Relations*; Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Vol. 2. ch. 18.

and the grounds of such cases were the calling the neighbour by the name of 'fool.' What, however, gave employment to the officials of the courts Christian, were testamentary and matrimonial cases. In the latter the witnesses to the marriage were produced. Their age and condition were canvassed. Grounds for a divorce were stated and sifted. A peaceful co-habitation of both, or in the event of a divorce, a pecuniary allowance was enjoined. And should there be an attempt on the one side to show that there had been no real marriage from the beginning, owing to an existing impediment, or on the other to establish the validity of the marriage, the usual marriage ceremonial was made a matter of investigation. Let one example suffice.—In the year 1454, Peter Warren and Jane Monteyn were respectively plaintiff and defendant. The competency of the witnesses to the marriage being established, they were asked, "Did John take Jane as lawful spouse, and plight troth to her?" They answered, "yes." They were asked the same question with regard to Jane. The answer was in the affirmative. They were asked, "Did John give his hand to Jane, and in turn did Jane join hands with John?"—The answer was "yes." Then there was an enquiry, whether they kissed each other after the marriage. The answer in the affirmative established that there was full consent on both sides.<sup>7</sup> Testamentary arrangements gave matter for daily employment to the Ecclesiastical courts.

<sup>7</sup> The questions put by the Celebrant were substantially the same as are put at present. The indecent custom of kissing in a church after the marriage, lingers in some rude districts.—Registry of Palatian.

In the year 1429 excommunication was threatened by the Archbishop of Armagh, because the king's bailiffs, John Blissot and Roger Keppox withdrew some testamentary cases from the spiritual courts.<sup>a</sup> Within a month after death, an inventory of the goods of the deceased had to be presented to the ordinary by the beneficed clergyman only.<sup>a</sup> Letters of administration were granted to the next of kin, or to the widow. The widow generally was preferred, unless there were some special reason for objecting to her. It lay with the court to choose either.<sup>b</sup> That not merely testamentary cases, but even donations "*inter vivos*," down to the sixteenth century were claimed by the spiritual courts, is made certain by entries in the registries of Armagh. In the year 1484, one Walter Verdun gave as a free gift £20 to Walter Fyntor, and to his wife Joanna. By and by, he wished to reclaim it. He said it was given only as a pledge. The husband and wife said it was given as a pure irrevocable gift. Evidence was heard, and the court judged it to have been an absolute gift. The judge before deciding against the Reverend plaintiff—for he was a Chaplain—keeping God before his eyes in the first place, and invoking his sacred name, concluded by recommending to the defendants a special interest in the Chaplain: especially if he fell into distress. Furthermore, he pronounced it to be the duty of the defendants to see to the decent interment of the plaintiff,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. of Swayn's Register, T.C.D.

<sup>a</sup> Cromer's Registry. Whether in the year 1518, the provincial council for the first time enacted this decree, or merely confirmed a former one, I am not prepared to say.

<sup>b</sup> 31 Edward III. ch. ii.

and that, should any of the £20 remain after these expenses, the remainder was to be spent on pious purposes.\*

Unfortunately it is the duty of the historian to notice deeds of violence and sacrilege done during the period under review. They were acts, which we, not taking into account the temptations—the circumstances ; and so far removed from the times in which they were done, may be inclined to think them more suited to pagans on the first introduction of missionaries, than to the children of saints. Indeed they were confronted with heroic acts of religion. But at the same time, they were sufficient to throw a dark shade on the most redeeming age. The annalists speak of them, as surely accompanied with visible chastisements, as the shadow follows the body. While the acts excite horror, the visitations which they entailed serve as lasting warnings. The churches were violated by the shedding of innocent blood at the hands of the English ; and after being a scene of slaughter, they were robbed of their property. But the annalists do not fail to inform us, covered as Birmingham was with the bell, which he took from the Church of St. Fechnan, that he met with a violent death.<sup>d</sup> The impartiality of the historian forbids placing such acts exclusively at the door of the stranger. The Irish also, on some occasions, made the sanctuary flow with the blood of its worthiest ministers. They came on the Prior of Kilmainham in Glenderoly, and slew him with several Friars. Nor is this the worst—even into the Bishop's palace, vengeance pursued its victims.\*

\* Registry of Palatian, Vol. 3, p. 1115—T.C.D.

<sup>d</sup> Annals of Four Masters, 1261.

\* Ibid, 1263. (d.) Ibid, ad. an. 1261.

O'Neil slew sixteen of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of Tyrconnell, but was punished by the "miracles of God and of St. Columbkille."

The thirteenth century was one of confusion and trouble to the Irish Church. One may not expect, that it was calculated to give leisure or encouragement to the development of the intellectual faculties. However it produced men, who could illustrate any church in that age. It produced able philosophers, and profound mathematicians, writers on general history, and most accurate writers on Irish history. There was scarcely a branch of science sacred or profane, which they did not handle. They acquired the highest honors at the Sorbonne. They were called on to preside over an university by Frederick the second, and were teachers of the immortal Thomas Aquinas. Their very names denote learning—Cornelius "Historicus," Peter Hibernicus, the teacher of Aquinas, Archbishop O'Heney, the biographer of St. Cuthbert, the accurate compiler of the *Annals of Innisfallen*.<sup>1</sup> There were two, however, who of themselves would reflect credit on any age—Thomas Palmerston born in Kildare, and John "de Sacro Bosco" born in Dublin.<sup>2</sup> The very titles to their works show the extent of their learning, and the versatility of their genius. The latter wrote works on "the Sphere," on "Algorithms," or calculations of the year, a Breviary

<sup>1</sup> Gotefrid, a native of Waterford, who mastered the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, and Arabic languages; left among other works, an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and a collection of sermons; and translated some of Aristotle's works into French.—*Bibliothèque Dominiacale*. See Brennan's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hanmer. M'Geoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 316. Ware's *Writers*. Bale makes him an Englishman—Sacro Bosco, Hollywood.



of the law and several other things. The other who studied at Paris and after in Italy, and flourished about 1270, produced among various other works, "Flowers of the Doctors," which evinced a thorough acquaintance with the fathers; treatises on "the Christian Religion," on "the Illusions of the Demons," on "the Temptations of the Devil," on "the Remedies of Vice," on "the Flowers of the Bible," and other writings.

I close this chapter by a startling entry. In the year 1284, Leger, Bishop of Ossory acquired the lands of St. Kieran by duel.<sup>h</sup> The reader may stare and ask, can there be a mistake? On such terms, however, do the annalists assure us was the land acquired. Of course, the Irish Canons strictly forbade clerics, under the pain of degradation, the giving or accepting a challenge.<sup>i</sup> Duels between laymen were inhibited by both Popes and Councils.<sup>k</sup> The more probable opinion is, that the land got by the Bishop was the result of a duel fought between De Vesey on one side, and Kildare on the other.<sup>l</sup> If such a supposition be well founded, we must argue that the practice of duelling continued longer in Ireland, than in England.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Annals Four Masters. Ware, p. 60.

<sup>i</sup> Ware's Antiquities, p. 179.

<sup>k</sup> Innocent III. declared void all judgments by cold water, hot iron, or by duel. Ep. lib. 5, 107.

<sup>l</sup> Note to Annals of the Four Masters, by Connellan.

<sup>m</sup> Sir Matthew Hale thinks that duelling was put an end to, in King John's time, and that it was prohibited by an act of Parliament in the 3rd of Henry III. Lingard says, duelling was suppressed in England about 1262. Vol. 2, page 245.

## CHAPTER VII.

AT the present time it is impossible to form even an approximatively correct estimate of the wealth of the Irish Church during the middle ages. This happens from many reasons. When we are furnished with the proceeds from the benefices, we are not told what did the temporalities of the See yield. And when there has been a return of the Bishop's revenue in spirituals and temporals, no clue has been afforded for arriving at the value of the benefices in the same diocese. Even when there has been a substantially correct account of the revenue in one, the statistics of another See are very imperfect. Besides, the perquisites not only varied in a different, but even fluctuated in the same diocese. And then, supposing the facts ascertained, we often cannot agree on the deductions, on the value to be attached to the data—the value of money has been so differently estimated in different ages. The task is not unlike an attempt to work an equation when even one of the terms cannot be known. But though the wealth of the Church were ascertained to mathematical correctness, it is not less the duty of the historian on that account to notice the several sources from which that wealth was derived. These sources may be classed under the various orders of ecclesiastics, whose means of emolument were different.

In succession, then, I will consider the Rector, the Archdeacon, the Bishop and the Archbishop. Though from the coming of the English, an effort had been made by the Anglo-Irish clergy to have the regular payment of tithes introduced, yet they did not succeed till the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. For, in the year 1224, the tithe system was legally introduced. The 4th canon of the synod of Cashel, in 1172 decreed, "that all the faithful do pay tithes, of animals, corn and other produce, to the church of which they are parishioners." By and by, the tithes got a more comprehensive meaning. By the 19th canon of the synod in Dublin, in the year 1185, tithes were ordered to be paid from provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things which grow, and yearly renewed themselves." Nor did a tithe of fruit or of such things as yearly renewed themselves suffice. Because in the year 1214, Archbishop Loundres made a complaint to the Pope, of the non-payment of tithes from mills, and labor, and other things. The payment, under pain of excommunication, was ordered by the Pope. With what effect the Pope's recommendation or orders were attended, I am not prepared to say. Evidently, however, it made a most material difference, whether the tithe system included the animal or vegetable creation, or even the produce of labor. And it is no less evident, the system of tithing varied not only in several parts of Ireland, but even in the same diocese. In proof of this, I will cite the constitutions of Armagh. They bear particularly on the matter, and have sufficient general interest for the ecclesiastical historian. The preamble states, that the regulations were sanctioned by the venerable Archbishops of

Armagh, Ralph and Donat.\* Amongst other ordinances it was decreed, "that the parishioners should, for the future, be made acquainted with every thing, which was preserved in the Archives : lest, in the course of time, there may arise a dispute between them and the rectors. We decree, that the parishioners are to furnish the following articles.—'Extracts from the lives of the Saints,' an Antiphonary, a Gradual, Psalter, a collection of the several Introits for Mass, an Ordinal, a Missal, a Ritual, a Chalice, Dalmatics, Tunics, Chasubles, Soutanes, Antependent with 3 Altar Cloths, 3 Surplices, a Rochette, a Cross for ceremonies for the dead, two Candlesticks, Lamps, a Bell for accompanying the Viaticum to the sick, a decent Veil for Lent, a Pix for the Blessed Eucharist, Banners for Rogation days, a Bell with a rope for it, a Bier, a Vessel for Holy Water, an instrument by which the "pax" may be given, a stand for the Paschal Candle, a Font, Waxen Images for the Church, a large image inside the enclosure of a Cemetery, the repair of books and vestments. Besides, we decree that no person, except the Parish Priest, or Vicar, or Patrons, be buried in a Church without the special leave of the Rector or Vicar. Let there be no games or markets, or contentions in a Church or Cemetery. Let nothing take place there but

\* The first Donat we meet with in Armagh, previous to the date of the constitutions, was O'Fidabra, who sat in the year 1227. This was about the time of the legal establishment of tithes. Though the date assigned for these constitutions be 1328, in the reign of Pope Urban, yet, as observed by the learned Editor of the O'Renehan MSS., they must be referred to 1378; because Urban sat, not during the former, but the latter date.—Vol. I. p. 138. These constitutions throw great light on the discipline and economy of the Irish Church.

prayers and works of mercy. And since disputes and scandals and hatred arise from tithes, owing to the *various customs in our diocese* of Armagh, we ordain, that tithes of fruits be paid entirely to God, without deducting any expense; and of all fruits of trees and of gardens, and of all seeds, and plants. We likewise ordain, that tithes from geese, and ducks, and chickens, and doves, and swans, and cranes, peacocks, and from all domestic fowls, and from wild beasts, from swine and from all things, whether mentioned or not, which are renewed through the year, be duly paid. We also ordain tithes from woods, from large and small meadows. We wish that an obolus be paid for every lamb, and one lamb be given for six lambs at tithing time; or if sold before that time, that tithes of ten-pence be paid, and the same to take place with regard to the wool.<sup>b</sup> And should the sheep be kept in one place in summer, and in a different place in winter, that the tithes should be divided according to the time. If a person buy or sell sheep, and it be known from what parish they are come, let the tithes be divided; but if it be not known from what parish they came, the tithes shall be received by the parish in which they are shorn. We likewise ordain, that tithes be paid from milk, through the entire year, as well in Lent as in Autumn, to the rector or vicar, under pain of excommunication. We likewise ordain, that tithes be paid of all pasture lands, of fisheries and turbaries, and of all

<sup>b</sup> As tenpence would be paid for six lambs, something more than 1½d. would be the sum to be paid for one lamb. Did this sum mean an obolus? The early and mædieval writers make it a farthing. Du Cange. *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis scrip.*

other works, from mills, bees and all other profits, from all handicraft, merchandize, carpentering, masonry, weaving, from works in brass, and smelting, and from all labor. We likewise ordain, that the rectors, under pain of disobedience and at peril of their soul, cause tithes to be offered to the churches four times in the year, and that the parishioners be reminded of their duty, lest through forgetfulness they do not pay tithes in the above manner. Failing which, let them be interdicted from entering the church, and visited with ecclesiastical censures ; let them be suspended, if necessary, and be sent, after they make satisfaction, for absolution to the Bishop. And as disputes arise between the rector and the parishioners about trees growing in cemeteries, each party laying claim to them—we wishing to decide such a matter, declare that by the Canon law, rectors or their curates can excommunicate those, who detain property of this sort ; as it is not a personal injury or debt, but an injury to the church of which there is question. Because since a cemetery, especially when dedicated, belongs to the church, whatever is planted, or sown or built thereon belongs to the ground, it follows then necessarily, that trees in cemeteries must be ranked among articles of ecclesiastical property. Laics have no power to dispose of them, since no power is given them over ecclesiastical persons or things, as Sacred Writ testifies. Priests only have the charge and the power of disposing of such things. But as trees are planted to secure the church from the force of the storm, we forbid the rector or curate, to cut them down indiscriminately, but only when the rails or the church may require repair. Besides, if the nave of the church require repair, and on account of

the poverty of the people, it be deemed a charitable thing to cut them down, we have no objection ; but at the same we give no command to do so."<sup>c</sup>

In addition to the greater tithes, the Rector received lesser tithes. These consisted of oblations—offerings made on Sundays and the principal festivals of the year. Offerings were made too at baptisms, at churchings, at marriages, and anointings. In some places first fruits were received. Religion dictated that the first fruits should be given to God, in the person of the priest, his representative, in a spirit of thankfulness, and hope that a blessing may descend on the whole produce. Holy writ recommended, and the early Christian Church enforced the custom of oblation of first fruits.<sup>d</sup> So too did the Irish Church adopt the practice. In the year 1453, first fruits were ordered by the Archbishop of Cashel in a provincial council. This was done in support of an old custom, and in conformity with the other churches in Ireland.<sup>e</sup> Hence perhaps the origin in the church of giving a gallon of drink to the pastor from every brewing, " Mary Gallons," a ridge of winter corn, and a ridge of oats from every plough, called " St. Patrick's ridge."<sup>f</sup> A considerable source of profit too were mortuaries. Mention is made of them in the earliest canons of the Irish Church—they were a resti-

<sup>c</sup> The witnesses to the document were Rev. Wm. Neal, John Strade, and Roger Hun, and John Whistle, Notary Apostolic.

<sup>d</sup> Iræneus and Origen speak of the practice of giving first fruits.—Bingham, ch. 5, p. 282.

<sup>e</sup> Wilkins' Councils.

<sup>f</sup> Commons' Journal, quoted in Curry's Civil Wars, page 95.

tution of oblations neglected during life.<sup>h</sup> The Lord got the best article, and the church got the next best article of the deceased. It may be an animal, or piece of furniture—the custom varied in different countries. In later times, in the Irish Church, four or six pence were required for every soul.<sup>k</sup> Besides for every beef killed at a funeral, the tallow and hide and a quarter of the beef, and a tenth portion of the goods, after the payment of debts, were given.<sup>l</sup> Wherever the decrees of the Synod of Cashel were in force, the third part of the moveable goods went for purposes of burial. Of course a considerable portion may have been necessary for decent interment, and the entertainment of friends: but no inconsiderable portion too—under the name of “funeral quarters” as we shall see further on, went to the Rector of the Parish. The revenue of ecclesiastics was increased by the control, which the clergy claimed on the marriage of females. Thus in the year 1264, Adam de Wadford promised to pay his Lord the Archbishop of Dublin £20.<sup>m</sup> It was to be paid in two half-yearly instalments. One instalment was to be given at Easter, and the other at St. Michael’s festival. The promise was made in consideration of the wardship,

<sup>h</sup> Mortuary was called soul-scot, in the laws of Canute.

<sup>l</sup> Du Cange, Glossary. Blackstone (Commentaries) is wrong in tracing mortuaries to a neglect of tithes; because the former were known when the latter were not heard of.—D’Acherry, Vol. 9. Specilegium. Blackstone, Vol. 2, p. 427.

<sup>k</sup> Curry’s Civil Wars, p. 95, quoting the Commons’ Journal.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> This agreement was executed in the eighth year of the reign of Fulk, Archbishop of Dublin. Now, as he succeeded in 1256 (see Harris’ Bishops), the deed must have been executed in the year 1264.



land, and marriage of Agatha, daughter of Meyler O'Toole. Again, the Registry of Alan mentions that brother Nigellus, prior of all saints, gave his assent to the marriage of John Woodlock. By reason of Williamston being held of him, Nigellus claimed control over the marriage as a matter of right.<sup>a</sup> License for marriage was so given by the Prior, that his successor shall raise no difficulty about the marriage of John or his heirs; on this condition however, that the wardship which may ensue should belong to brother Nigellus. That such a control was exercised over them as slaves or betaghs,<sup>o</sup> is very likely—for certain it is, that slavery in a modified form at this time, and even down to the sixteenth century, continued in the Irish Church.

In the earliest ages of Christianity the lawful possession of slaves was recognized by the Church. Not only were slaves incapable of marrying without the consent of the masters, but even they could not embrace a religious life.<sup>p</sup> Christianity found slavery in society, and endeavoured to improve, and finally abolished it. The Church itself received grants of land on the conditions which formed an integral portion of the social and political system. If the Church accepted them with slaves, it was to improve their condition. In the words of Protestant historians, "the Church in all ages and countries was an indulgent landlord; and if it

<sup>a</sup> Alan's Registry, T.C.D., p. 404.

<sup>o</sup> In 1331, Edward III. says, that the Betaghs in Ireland should be governed by the same laws, as the villeins in England.—Rymer's *fœdera*.

<sup>p</sup> Valentinian, 3 novel—12. St. Basil, 42. The 38th canon of St. Basil says, that the marriages were null, and even those of a slave's daughters.—Cod. Theod. lib. 3, tit. 7, de Nuptiis, leg. 1.

occupied one-third of the lands of Europe, it was a guarantee that the serfs would not be oppressed."<sup>a</sup> Such had been the desire of priests to ransom slaves, that they were urged by them to run away. But to check disorder or dishonesty the thirty-second canon of St. Patrick ordained that whoever caused a slave to abscond should pay for his ransom. Pure slavery prevailed for some time in the Irish as in other Churches ; but from the twelfth century it gave way to villeinage.<sup>c</sup> Richard Pheypo gave to the prior of All Saints, in pure and perpetual alms, Reginald M'Keligan, Christian M'Keligan, Murdach and Gillesman M'Keligan, with their services and their offspring, and the lands of Ballaydoyle.<sup>d</sup> In the year 1356 Archbishop Minot, of Dublin, claimed Simon O'Neil, who was styled citizen of Dublin, and acquired two carucates of land. Still later, in the middle of the sixteenth century, several O'Neils, with their children, and one Carroll, with his family, and William Nolan, acknowledged themselves villeins.<sup>e</sup> Very valuable were the services of these villeins to the Church. The book of Lismore regulates the amount of work due of the Betagh. For every ploughland possessed, he was to plough an acre for the Bishop for wheat, another for oats ; and to draw home the corn.<sup>f</sup> Not only the villein, but even the free tenants paid services.

<sup>a</sup> Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. I. p. 286.

<sup>c</sup> Pure villeinage or slavery consisted in this, that the slave did not know to-day what he may be called on to-morrow to do. The privileged villeinage specified the duties to be done by the villeins.—Glossarium ad mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis scriptores, sub voce.

<sup>d</sup> Register of All Hallows, edited for the Irish Archaeological Society.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Harris' Antiquities, I. 157.

So much so, that the rent in money was nominal. It was really paid in services and in kind.\* The rent in specie was generally fixed, but that in kind knew no limits while the lord was in want.†

Some parishes had a Vicar. He enjoyed, in some parishes, as in Raphoe and in Derry, as much as the Rector. In such a case, I suppose, the duty was done exclusively by the Vicar, who on all occasions was allowed about six acres glebe land, in contiguity to the Church. 2° Besides the sources of revenue common to the Rector, the Archdeacon in addition received synodals. Certain sums varying in different dioceses were received by the Bishop at the yearly synod.‡ If

‡ Montgomery, in his statement to James I, says, that the actual rent was a mere trifle; and that 240 acres were given for 10s., sometimes for 3s. 4d. The ecclesiastic went round to his tenants, and the king's officers did not meddle with church tenants, but left them to the Bishop's seneschal.

\* "Non debet dominus mutare censum antiquum," says O'Kane the corbe to the Bishop of Derry, "sed si careat rebus necessariis, vaccis pinguibus, &c. debet ad nos mittere, et nos debemus illi subministrare, namque nos habemus, domini sunt, et nos etiam ipsi illius sumus."—Usher, Vol. XI. p. 428.

In speaking of slaves and of their services, I have in view, not simply Priests, who had not generally slaves and their services, but Priors and Abbots, whom I class under Rectors.

‡ For the Diocese of Connor, the decree ran, "Nos vero synodalia persolvemus Archidiacono et Episcopo, qui pro tempore erunt."—Reeves' Taxation of Down and Connor.

The Archdeacon of this time was quite a different person from the Archdeacon of earlier times. In the latter, he was among the deacons what the chief priest was among the priests. Afterwards, he regulated even the clergy. The change appeared, even in the ninth century, to some extent. But in a marked way it appeared in Gratian's time.—Bingham, B. 2, ch. 21.

in his absence he was represented by the Archdeacon, the latter received synodals in some dioceses : in others he received something equivalent to them. In Ossory the Archdeacon exercised a prescriptive right over the diocese from the 30th of September to the 3rd February, and received the moiety of procurations usually paid to the Bishop in his ordinary visitations. 3<sup>o</sup> The Bishop was possessed of the broad acres attached to his See. The temporalities were farmed. He claimed the services of the villeins, and the profit resulting from control over the marriages already mentioned. But the spiritualities formed no inconsiderable portion of his revenue. They generally went under the name of procurations, perquisites, and of synodals. Procuration was the refreshment required for the Bishop at his yearly or other visitations. On such occasions no inconsiderable sum, sometimes vast sums were expended. The sum of money for which the procurations were commuted, amounted in Connor to 50 marks, and to still more in other dioceses. It was a great sum for these times, but not great in comparison to the expenditure entailed by the procurations. Because a numerous retinue accompanied the Bishop.\* When the visitation was made by the Archdeacon, the Bishop received in money what

\* The third Council of Lateran, in 1179, found it necessary to decree, that no cavalcade in the suite of the Bishop should exceed forty or fifty horses ; none in the suite of a Cardinal should exceed twenty or thirty. Five or seven horses may be allowed the Archdeacon, and two to the rural deans. See Thomassinus de discipline de l'Eglise, Part III. liv. 2, xxxiii. There was a complaint made by the Prior of Bridlington against the Archdeacon, Richmond, because he brought at his visitation 97 horses, 27 dogs, 3 falcons, and consumed more than would suffice for the community, for an entire age.—Reeves' Taxation of Down, &c.

might have been spent on his entertainment. Thus in the taxation of the dioceses of Ardagh, Cashel, Kildare, Ardfert, and Enaghdone, the procurations of the Archdeacon formed an item.

In different dioceses, the sum paid to the Bishop varied. In the dioceses of Down, Connor and Drómóre, the sum ranged from two shillings to twenty shillings. This is true at least of the fifteenth century.<sup>a</sup> 2° Perquisites too formed a source of supply to the Bishop. Found in connexion with chapters they most probably meant the fees or emoluments to the Bishop or his representative from the chapter held in each deanery.<sup>a</sup> Emoluments to the Archdeacon went under the name of "jurisdiction," rather than "perquisite" in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ardfert. The refectory then prepared for the Bishop at the rural chapters, was commuted in process of time for money.<sup>b</sup> The sum paid for perquisites was in some dioceses the same as proxy money. The chapters used to be held only in country districts. Whenever the Bishop was a Prior of a house, that house paid no proxy.<sup>c</sup> 3° The third source of revenue in spirituals came to the Bishop from synodals. Formerly a synod used to be held at or about Easter.

<sup>a</sup> Reeves' Taxation of Down, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Deanery was so called, because it included ten prebends. The dean was so called, because ruling over a deanery, or ten monks in a community.—*Horæ Dec. Glos. Archaeolog.*—Dantsey.

<sup>b</sup> The Dominicans of Newtown were said "to owe to the Bishop a refectory, i.e., eatables and drinkables."—*Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> King Stephen in the year 1122, enacted "*Prohibemus ne Archidiaconus die visitationis sue apud Ecclesiam quam visitat Capitulum celebret; nisi forte in burgo vel civitate Ecclesia sit Constituta.*" Procurations were sometimes not required, as in the case of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.—Appendix to Mason's History of St. Patrick's.

It was composed of the Bishop ; of the Cathedral Dean who represented the Collegiate body ; of the Archdeacon ; and of the Urban and rural Deans representing the Parochial Clergy. The synodals, then, were the fees paid to the Bishop at the synod. They were also called "Paschal Pence." Like the perquisites and procurations, they varied in the different dioceses. Early councils limited the sum to be received by the Bishop in honor of the Cathedral to two shillings from each living. Hence the word 'Cathedraticum.'<sup>d</sup> The ancient Irish rolls show a shilling to have been a 'Cathedraticum' for a Church, and sixpence for a Chapel. However in some dioceses two shillings as Cathedraticum were laid on a benefice. 4<sup>o</sup> The Archbishop of course had the same source of revenue as the Bishop. Besides he received procurations on visiting his suffragans. Thus the procurations to the Archbishop from the diocese of Dromore were two shillings and two-pence from every mark. This sum would be about one-sixth of the revenue of the benefice. The Archbishop too, at least of Armagh, claimed on the death of each suffragan, his ring and best horse. The Archbishop of Armagh, once on a time, went around the island, and gathered what went under the name of "Patrick's tribute." Since the coming of the English, such a practice had been given up. At the same time, something like a trace of the practice may be detected in the Archdiocese of Armagh. For, in the year 1455, the Primate John Mey addressed a pastoral to the Bishops, Abbots and Priests of the province. He put before them the claims, which he and his predecessors enjoyed to the first fruits

<sup>d</sup> Second Council of Bracara in 572.

of animals ; the more so, as the bearer of the canon of St. Patrick, and guardian of the bell claimed such first fruits in virtue of their office.\* The Primate insisted on his own claims being stronger ; and added, that the right claimed by him was not confined to the Archbishop of Armagh. He threatened with ecclesiastical censures all who would offer any opposition to the claims, which were founded both on custom and on the most ancient canons.

Another source of revenue to the Archbishop and even to the Bishop was the "Episcopal portion." In the year 572, the council of Bracara decreed, that no Bishop should receive a part of the oblations parochial, but only two shillings in honor of his See ; but the first council of Bracara in the same century speaks of the Bishop's third part, or rather the fourth part. The quarters episcopal arose in the following manner. Before the full establishment of parishes in the sixth century, all the churches in a parish thrown up for the convenience of the people were subject to the Bishop's Church, which was called the "Cathedral." The revenues of the district were divided between the poor, the repair of churches, the officiating Clergymen and the Bishop.

Even after the Church was endowed, and the Bishop's See enjoyed temporalities, the "quarters episcopal," given to the Bishop as his sole support originally, were still continued. In the diocese of Clogher, the Bishop received one fourth of the revenue from spirituals and temporals, together with a rent from the tithon lands. Two portions fell to the Rector and the other portion to the Vicar. The Erenach had cuttings

\* Mey's Register.

and services from the ecclesiastical tenants, and kept three quarters to himself for purposes of hospitality. In some parts of Raphoe and Derry, one-third fell to the lot of the Bishop and to the Erenach, or rather to the Erenach entirely, for which he paid rent to the Bishop. The second part was claimed by the Rector, and the third by the Vicar. Churches were kept in repair at the joint expense of the three. In Armagh the Rector had two-thirds and the Vicar one-third of the tithes; while the Bishop claimed certain mensal tithes from the lands adjacent to the town of Armagh. The Erenach enjoyed no part of the tithes, but the temporalities for which he paid a certain sum. In one part of Tyrone, the Vicar and Bishop claimed one-half, and the Rector enjoyed the other half of the tithes. This was not generally the case; for we find in other districts of the same country, that there was an equal division between the Rector, Vicar and Erenach.\* Though in some parts the Erenach enjoyed none of the tithes, yet we are informed by an inquisition taken in the time of James I. in Dungannon, that the estate of the Erenach consisted not only of the lands, but even of the tithes, which of course were given by the Bishop. Where the succession of pastors was not broken, where there had been no usurpations, and when the Bishop peaceably received his rents, then indeed no Erenach appeared. It is scarcely material to mention in reference to the revenue of the Church, that ecclesiastics sometimes were Keepers of the Seal, or Chancellors, and Treasurers, and Chief Justices. The first generally got £40 yearly, but afterwards the sum was increased.

\* Usher on Corbes and Erenachs.



The second received the same sum. The Chief Justice received yearly £500. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the salary for the Great Seal was increased to 10 shillings per day ; that of the Justice too was increased.\*

Another tributary stream which swelled this gentle tide of wealth to the church, flowed from the ecclesiastical courts. It is no easy matter to determine what was the scale of charges graduated for proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. One item however, in reference to the profits of administration receives strong light from an enactment in the year 1537. This was to carry out the provisions of an act passed in the third of Henry V., and in the twenty-first of Henry VIII. It prefaced by saying, that as the people were poor, and as the demands for wills and probates were not lessened, it was decreed, that the Archbishop or his official should receive nothing for an entry of any will, administration, or for the perfecting any instrument in regard to those dying intestate or otherwise, whenever the goods do not amount to £3 6s. 8d. Irish money. However two pence were allowed to the clerk, and eight pence to the bearer of the seal. If the goods were valued at £3 6s. 8d., then the official and the scribe received three and four pence. If the sum to be administered for, was over £3 6s. 8d., but under £10, then the scribe received one and eight pence, and the ordinary or official got three shillings. If the sum reached £10 but not £20, in that case the scribe received two shillings, and the official eight shillings. If the sum ran as high as £20, but under £100, then the scribe

\* Harris' Antiquities, p. 96.

got two shillings and eight pence, and the bishop or official received fourteen shillings. If the sum came to £100, the scribe got three and four pence, while the official was entitled to sixteen shillings and eight pence. But the bishop or official who refused drawing up an instrument, or making entry, in the first mentioned case of a sum under £3 6s. 8d., or in violation of these terms under any circumstances, was for every offence fined ten pounds. One half of the mulct went to the king, the other part to the aggrieved party.<sup>h</sup> The gatherings at fairs and markets too tended to swell the coffers of the bishop ; because a toll was required. For this a patent was got. Thus in the fifteenth of John's reign, on the thirtieth of July, he granted leave to the Archbishop of Dublin to hold markets at Swords, during the festival of Saint Columbkille. The festival had an octave and so lasted eight days.<sup>i</sup>

The several sources of revenue to the Irish Church enumerated, I now endeavour to give some items of the proceeds from these sources, as data for arriving at a conjecture as to the whole temporal value of the Church. Our guides shall be the Papal and the royal valuations. The first is more accurate, but imperfect ; the latter is fuller, but less reliable. In order to come at a knowledge of the wealth of the Sees, in demanding tithes to meet the difficulties in which he was involved, Pope Nicholas IVth. instituted a valuation of the Sees and Benefices.\* In the year 1291 he addressed a letter

<sup>h</sup> Dowdall's Registry, p. 140, T.C.D.

<sup>i</sup> Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. 2, page 1049.

\* Cobbett says that one Prime Minister received more money in one year from Ireland than the Popes ever received from it.—History of the Reformation.

to the Bishop of Meath, Thomas St. Ledger, and to the Dean of Dublin, directing them to form an estimate of the value of the Church property. These ecclesiastics were thoroughly acquainted with the smallest items which generally went to swell the revenue of the Bishop or of the Rector. If the livings of the Templars and Hospitallers were valued, they were not taxed. Their services and sacrifices for the faith were deemed sufficient to exempt them from contributions. In the year 1302 another assessment by orders of Pope Boniface VIII. took place. The collectors were bound by oath to execute their commission without fear or hatred. The lowest sum or tithe got from any benefice was three shillings and four pence ; the highest did not exceed thirty pounds. The dioceses of Down, Dromore, and Connor, were rated respectively, in spirituals and temporals, at £427 3s. 4½d., £42 6s. 8d., and £627 11s. 4d.<sup>1</sup> Now, as Dromore is a ninetieth part of Ireland, if the wealth and system of taxation were uniformly the same throughout the Church, £42 6s. 8d. the value of Dromore, taken ninety times, would give the value of the Church.<sup>2</sup> This, however, would be a narrow and fallacious basis for generalization. For there was the greatest contrast in point of wealth, not only between several Sees, but even the several parts of the same See. Taking even a larger basis, the three dioceses whose accurate valuations we have, as averages, they too, would be far from furnishing us with a correct

<sup>1</sup> Reeves' Taxation of Down and Connor.

<sup>2</sup> Supposing the value of money to be thirty times less now than in the fourteenth century, we must consider, according to such a valuation, the entire sum to amount to £150,000.

return of the whole.<sup>a</sup> If again, we take the livings or benefices of the diocese to be five times as emolumentary as the Bishop's revenue, the result would be different from either of the other two suppositions.<sup>o</sup> But the

<sup>a</sup> The sums of the revenues of the three dioceses amount to about £1096. Now, as there were at the time thirty-five dioceses, taking the above sum as the average for three dioceses, the thirty-five dioceses would yield something about £12,786, and this multiplied by thirty (to make allowance for the decreased value of money), would exhibit £383,580. Some may think money forty times more valuable in the fourteenth than the present century. If so, we should then have £511,440.

<sup>o</sup> The taxation of Nicholas IV. in 1291, taken from the Records' Office, Carlton Ride, London, and given by Cotton in his "Fasti," is as follows:—

Cashel—The Archbishop's temporalities and spiritualities amounted to -	-	-	-	£146	1	0
Benefices—Imperfect.						
Kilmacduagh—The Bishop's revenue estimated at				33	7	9
Only a few of the benefices given.						
Emly—The Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	102	0	0
Its benefices	-	-	-	146	3	0
Waterford—The Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	22	13	4
Its benefices	-	-	-	23	6	0
Cork—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	40	0	0
Cloyne—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	123	5	0
According to another valuation			-	100	0	0
Its benefices	-	-	-	142	13	0
Ross—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	19	18	0
Limerick—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	163	0	0
Its benefices	-	-	-	201	12	2
Artfert—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	49	13	4
Its benefices	-	-	-	46	4	0
Dublin—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	-	170	19	3
Its benefices*	-	-	-	327	4	0

\* In this valuation St. Michan's or John's revenue is not included, on account of their poverty. In the year 1300, the see and its prebends were valued at £1,080 13s. ; and in the year 1306 at £1,053 6s. 8d.

King's valuation of Church property, though the fullest and most satisfactory, yet would be calculated to give a very false idea of the wealth of the Church.<sup>p</sup> Thus

Kildare—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	£72	9	2
Its benefices	-	-	121	16	4
Ossory—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	153	4	3
Its benefices	-	-	103	6	6
Though both are put down as amounting to	-	-	1049	4	9

On this account, I infer that in most of the other dioceses the valuation of the benefices was imperfect.

Leighlin—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	53	18	11
Meath—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	207	13	4
Clonmacnois—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	4	19	0
Its benefices	-	-	5	10	0
Connor—Bishop's revenue	-	-	50	0	0
Derry Do.	-	-	20	0	0
Ardagh Do.	-	-	13	0	0
Raphoe Do.	-	-	18	0	0
Clonfert Do.	-	-	66	13	4
Its benefices	-	-	16	7	0
Killaloe—Bishop's Revenue	-	-	86	15	0
Achonry Do.	-	-	14	0	0
Tuam Do.	-	-	115	6	11
Enaghdone Do.	-	-	18	0	0

<sup>p</sup> The following valuation of sees was printed in the year 1741, and professed to follow estimates taken at a much earlier date.

Meath in temporalities yielded - - £374 12 1½

Its decanates of Molingar, Foure, Loughsaidie, Duleek, Skryne, Trim, Slane, Kells, Clonard, yielded respectively—

£ 61	16	0
49	9	3
139	6	1
241	4	8
53	4	0
84	14	0
67	6	0
208	13	0
68	18	0
100	17	0

In all—£1072 8 0  
Irish money.

in the year 1305, from March till July in the same year, the temporalities of the See of Down amounted to £67 9s. 0½d., though for the entire year in the time of James I. when money was many times less valuable than in the 14th century, was valued only at £25.

	In temporalities.		In benefices.
Dublin,	rated at £534 15 2½	sterling.	£1,198 0 0
Kildare,	„ 69 0 0	do.	607 8 0
Ossory,	„ 67 0 0	Irish money.	676 19 2
Ferns,	„ 108 13 4	do.	802 0 6
Leighlin,	„ 50 0 0	sterling.	352 8 0
Cashel,	„ 66 13 4	Irish money.	169 17 6
Artfert,	„ 12 13 4	sterling.	13 10 4
Waterford,*	„ 72 8 1	do.	308 7 0
Down,†	„ 25 0 0	do.	74 13 4
Connor,	„ 25 0 0	do.	241 5 4
Derry,	„ 250 0 0	do.	242 3 4
Raphoe,	„ 250 0 0	do.	268 15 0
Kilmore,	„ 100 0 0	do.	‡226 0 0
Dromore,	„ 50 0 0	do.	79 6 8
Ardagh,§	„ 11 0 0	do.	81 0 0
Emly, in Eliza-			
beth's time,	„ 26 0 0	do.	106 0 0
Limerick, in Chas.			
I.'s time,	„ 40 0 0	Irish money.	201 13 0
Cork, in Eliza-			
beth's time,	„ 40 0 0	sterling.	207 14 0
Ross, in Eliza-			
beth's time,	„ 10 0 0	do.	129 15 8

\* The foregoing are mostly valued in the reign of Henry VIII.

† This and the following are valued in James I.'s reign. Irish money was one fourth less than the sterling money.

‡ From the book of visitation, T.C.D. Four pounds may be added. For Dromlane was valued at £8, and Moybolge at £10, instead of £14, as given in the Remembrancer's office, for both.

§ This was valued in Elizabeth's time.

|| Two pounds more are given by "Liber Visitationis," in T.C.D., being put down to the account of Kilbrone.

The temporalities of the Bishop of Down, in the taxation of Nicholas IVth., were rated at £50, which as we saw, even in the reign of James I. were valued only at £25.<sup>a</sup> The King did not at all adopt the same perfect machinery as the Pope for coming at the real sources of revenue in every diocese. And his estimate, even of the temporalities of which he may be supposed to form a proper valuation, was far lower, than what was struck for the Papal archives—far lower than the real value. In the taxation ordered by Pope Nicholas IVth. only two dioceses show a full valuation of all the benefices. These are the dioceses of Dublin and of Ossory. The proportion of the wealth of the Sees in these, to that of the benefices, is as 1 to 5.<sup>r</sup> Now this scale would

	In temporalities.				In benefices.		
Cloyne, in Elizabeth's time, rated at	£10	0	0	<i>sterling.</i>	£355	15	0
Killaloe, in Chas. I.'s time, „	20	0	0	<i>do.</i>	161	10	0
Tuam, in Elizabeth's time, „	50	0	0	<i>do.</i>	104	14	0
Elphin, in Elizabeth's time „	103	18	0	<i>do.</i>	129	0	0
Clonfert, in Elizabeth's time, „	24	0	0	<i>do.</i>	111	6	0
Kilmacduagh, in Eliz.'s time „	13	0	0	<i>do.</i>	44	7	0
Achonry, „	10	0	0	<i>do.</i>	16	4	0
Killala, in Elizabeth's time, „	23	6	8	<i>do.</i>	44	0	0

<sup>a</sup> From the Pipe Rolls of Edward III. we learn, that the biennial tithes of Dublin handed in by the Dean amounted to £259 9s. 1½d ; those of Cashel, to £145 10s. 7½d ; those of Armagh to £105 9s. 5½d., and those of Tuam to £27 2s. 4½d.

<sup>r</sup> Indeed, the king's valuation of the sees and benefices would give the proportion of one to three and a-half between both. But when it

allow for the temporalities and benefices about a quarter of a million, and would square with that basis of calculation, which before took the revenue of the three Sees, Down, Connor and Dromore, as averages for the rest.

With regard to the value of religious houses, if we take the opinion of a writer in the sixteenth century, in the year 1536, property of religious houses to the amount of £32,000 yearly was confiscated.\* Only 376 houses of the 537 in Ireland in the first years of

is considered that there was not the same facility of coming at the estimates of the priests' as at that of the Bishops' revenue (for the latter consisted of rents and tithes principally, and then the revenue from anointings and other ministrations, at the change of religion in the sixteenth century, was taken away from the incumbents), it is not unreasonable to make the proportion between the sees and benefices in point of wealth, in the fourteenth century, as one to five. As I said, this is warranted by the taxation of Dublin and Ossory, the only dioceses which give a full return of the benefices. The revenues of the twenty-four sees, as given in the valuation of Nicholas IV., would amount to £1,710. But as eleven more sees should be given, then we may give £800 for them, taking the twenty-four sees whose valuation we know, as averages. This would give £2,510 for all the thirty-five sees. Then, supposing that the sees bore in value to the benefices the ratio of one to five, the value of the sees and benefices would amount to £12,550. And supposing the value of money to be thirty times greater then than at the present time, we should value the revenue at £376,500 of our money. Or, if it were forty times more than the same sum now, it would come to over £500,000.

\* Dowling's Annals, p. 36, published for I. A. Society. The 100,000 mentioned by Dowling as driven from 376 religious houses, must be a monstrous mistake for 10,000. And supposing that the secular Priests were as numerous as the religious, Ireland would have had 20,000 ecclesiastics. English writers state the religious in England at their suppression to have amounted to 50,000.—Nicholson's Cyclopædia, under the word "Monastery."



the reformation, were confiscated to make the £82,000. If we estimate the remaining 161 houses accordingly, or suppose the 376 houses whose value we have, to give an average value we must put down some £15,000 for the 161 houses. Taking their relative value of money into account, we should put down the value of property in the hands of religious as ranging from £140,000 to £190,000.<sup>1</sup> What the ecclesiastics received in kind was of valuable consideration. But even supposing that the revenues amounted in all respects from £750,000 to £1,000,000 of our present money, and supposing ecclesiastics to number 20,000, much money would not be left for disposal to each individual.<sup>2</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> A MS. in T.C.D., classed E. 3, 8, p. 65, gives the following catalogue valuation of the Cistercian houses :—

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
St. Mary's,	at	1	0	0	Iniscourcey,	at	0	13	4
Mellifont,	„	1	0	0	Monasterevan	„	0	6	0
Bective,	„	0	13	4	Knockmoy,	„	0	13	4
Baltinglass,	„	0	13	4	Grey Abbey,	„			
Boyle,	„	0	13	4	Cumber,	„	0	6	8
Nenay,	„	0	10	0	Tintern,	„	0	13	4
Athlone,	„	0	6	8	Corcumroe,	„	0	6	8
Newry,	„	0	6	8	Kilcooley,	„	0	6	8
Odorney,	„	0	3	4	Kilbeggan,	„	0	6	8
Inislaunagh,	„	0	10	0	Donske,	„	0	13	4
Fermoy,	„	0	3	4	Abingdon,	„	0	13	4
Maur,	„	0	6	8	Abbeyleira,	„	0	6	8
Jerpoint,	„	0	13	4	Tracton,	„	0	13	4
Middleton,	„	0	3	4	Moycassen,	„	0	6	8
Holy Cross,	„	0	6	8	Loughscudy	„	0	3	4
Dunbrody,	„	0	13	4	Cashel,	„	0	6	8
Abbeyleix,	„	0	6	8					

<sup>2</sup> With regard to any estimate I may form of the wealth or number of ecclesiastics, I do so with great timidity. Great caution is necessary in receiving the figures or numbers given at that time. Dr. Lin-

were many benefices, but many of them were poor. Some did not exceed in value three and four pence. The ecclesiastics contributed more liberally than others to the necessities of the state. Whatever they got was obtained from those, to whose spiritual wants they ministered. Whatever was given, was expended on educating the young, in feeding the poor, and in maintaining the splendour of religion. Fleury informs us, that there attended at the council of Lateran in 1179, a Bishop, who lived on the milk of three cows. These failing, the diocesans supplied three others. Such simplicity and apostolic frugality were exhibited in the lives of many of the Irish ecclesiastics. And so much was the property of the Bishop looked on as belonging to the Church, and to the poor, that he could bequeath only 10 scruples to the Priest who anointed him; a mantle to the poor traveller; some provisions to the widow; and an ordinary habit to his servant.\*

gard gives a striking proof of this. In the time of Edward III., in the year 1371, the House of Commons, in voting a certain sum of money to the King, calculated on the number of parishes to be five or six times greater than it really was. On that account, only a fifth or sixth of what was promised had been forthcoming. I supply data, which may lead others to halve or double my numbers. My object has been to help others in forming an estimate, rather than dogmatically maintain any of my own.

\* Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 46. As a proof of how little moveable property was kept by the monasteries, I give from the registries of Armagh an inventory of goods in the Convent of Athirdee, taken in 1470. (1<sup>o</sup>) A cincture of silver embroidery. (2<sup>o</sup>) 6s. 8d. (3<sup>o</sup>) thirteen forks (stipes Du Cange). (4<sup>o</sup>) Twenty-two coverings, or hides, or books (Codex Du Cange). (5<sup>o</sup>) Cyclearibus IIII doss (might this mean four dozens?) (6<sup>o</sup>) Sixteen linen cloths with altar cloths. (7<sup>o</sup>) Two Murena. (8<sup>o</sup>) Five Stoles. (9<sup>o</sup>) Six Rochets. (10<sup>o</sup>) Four Caps. (11<sup>o</sup>) A pair of 1 nott (?) of Vestments. (12<sup>o</sup>)

Four "*Corporea Lectorum*." (Might it be cloths for Readers, or beds?) (13°) Five chalices, some chests, among which are a "*Guarde de Vin*," and some books. 14° Five palls, eleven towels, eight brazen jars in one box, four brazen pots, a frying pan, five hams, three pots of lard, four patenas, a kettle, ten dishes, eight salt-cellars, eleven old salt-cellars, eight dishes for the kitchen, eleven oxen, thirteen horses, seven heifers, six hogs, eight young pigs, ten kitchen utensils (*Scutella Du Cange*.) It may have been a cover-dish, derived from *scutum*, a shield. Each head of the cattle was valued at a few shillings.

## CHAPTER VIII.

IN connexion with the matter, with which the last chapter closed, I will say a few words in reference to the law of mortmain as affecting monastic institutions. Anxious as the church may be to encourage charity, it never thought it wise to do so either at the expense of the public good, or in violation of individual right. While it wished to afford every facility for the doing of good—for redeeming one's sins, the church wisely guarded against prodigal indiscriminating charity. The Theodosian code, and the fathers of the church denounced that charity which was not regulated by prudence.\* Mortmain, as implied by the root of the word, means a dead hand. It can get that name because, charity given at a dying hour is given as it were from a dead hand. Or more properly, perhaps, is the term traceable to the bodies to whom the charity is given, than to the time at which it is made. Because what-

\* Cod. Theod., lib. 16, tit. 2, de Epis. &c., embodies a law by Valentinian, preventing ecclesiastics from getting the property of heirs, and also a law of Theod. leg. 27-28. St. Jerome, Ep. 2, ad Nepot, says—"I am ashamed to say, that Pagan Priests and actors, and charioteers, and harlots, can inherit; and that ecclesiastics and monks only are incapable. I am grieved that they required such a law." St. Augustin caused property to be restored, which had been given to the Church.

ever got into monastic bodies, was dead as it were to the state. It never could fall under the control of the state, even for a moment : since there was no interval—no interregnum between the death of the occupant and the successor—religious bodies in the eyes of the law were supposed never to die. With a view to prevent this result, the law, called “the law of mortmain,” was passed. The law was not called mortmain, nor that mortmain law passed, in reference to sick-bed charity. There was no need of guarding against undue influence, in order to secure the rights of the surviving friends and children—for, the common law provided for their rights. The law of mortmain was passed to prevent lands to which knights’ service was attached, being given during life or at death, to religious bodies. Because in such a contingency, the state or superior lords would suffer. They were deprived of those “incidents” peculiar to the feudal tenure—The “aid” which was given in difficulties ; “reliefs,” which were fines on the death of the feudal tenant ; “premier seizin,” a fine on the descent to the heir of full age ; “wardship,” which was the right of receiving the rents and profits of a fee, during the minority of the heir ; “marriage,”<sup>b</sup> which was a fine on the marriage of a feudal tenant ; “fines on alienation ;” fines for the lord’s consent to the transfer of a fee, and “escheat,” which was equivalent to a forfeiture of the fee—all these seven incidents were lost to the lord in all those properties, which fell into the hands of monastic bodies. In addition to these, Heriots too

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes £5,000 were demanded by and given to the King, for consent to marry. Occasionally the male and female gave monies to the lord for the same marriages.

were sometimes claimed by the lord. The claim was of a personal nature. It included the best in some countries, the second best horse or article of furniture in other countries. Sometimes it was commuted for money. And though given first as an act of grace, afterwards it was claimed as a right.<sup>c</sup> At first religious houses were endowed in pure and perpetual alms.<sup>d</sup> Afterwards the lands attached to the houses were given often, only for a term of years, and for a certain consideration. But even with these restrictions, the law of mortmain guarded against the indiscriminate transfer of lands to religious. The law was in force not only in England, but in Ireland.<sup>e</sup> There are frequent instances of prosecution for violation of the law. Not that there was any, the least,

<sup>c</sup> Bracton, l. 2, ch. 36. Blackstone, vol. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

<sup>e</sup> W. F. Finlason, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law ("Laws on Mortmain,") does not wisely deny that the mortmain law applied to Ireland. In 1300, the prior of Drogheda, prior of the Augustinian Canons, was summoned for appropriating the burghage in the neighbourhood to the monastery, against the statute of mortmain.—Archdall. In 1281, the Earl of Norwich distrained the Prior of Great Conall, Co. Kildare, for not attending service. He pleaded, as grounds for a refusal, that the house was given in free and perpetual alms; shewing that, otherwise, the lands were subject to demands.—*Ibid*. During the incumbency of the illustrious Mæliosa, about the year 1289, he purchased several lands for the Church. This was against the statute of mortmain. But the King granted him pardon.—*Parl. Rolls*, 18 Edw. I. Harris, p. 61. At the close of the twelfth century, Walter Butler granted to the abbey of Arklow an exemption from secular demands; otherwise it would have been subject to them.—*Monastic, Anglic.* vol. 2. Henry III. granted to the Archbishop of Cashel in free alms, Cashel without imposts.—*M'Geoghegan*, 312. I will cite, from time to time, instances of prosecution for the violation of mortmain laws, to show that the position taken by Mr. Finlason is not tenable.

hostility to charity. Not that the state wished, as modern writers would have it, to guard against undue influence at the hour of death. For, most of the foundations took place during life. The great object had been to secure services to the state, and profits to the lord. Religious donations made by the Irish Princes were, on the coming of the English, subjected to secular demands. And as to future foundations their unrestricted multiplication was guarded against by the jealousy of the king, and the avarice of the barons.<sup>f</sup>

I brought under the notice of the reader an attempt made in the year 1250, to prevent Irish Canonries from being filled, as a Protestant historian styles them, with the most worthless English Ecclesiastics. The attempt was made and failed. Backed by the Pope, the King bore down all opposition. Incessant encroachments on the prerogatives of the Bishop were the consequence. But at this time, there sat in the See of St. Patrick, a Bishop, who if followed by others would have freed the church from secular trammels. He succeeded in 1272 as Archbishop, and died in the year 1303. His name was Nicholas M'Maelisa.<sup>g</sup> He thought that, though the Cathedral Chapters failed in carrying their point against the king, the Bishops would not fail. Already, agreeably to the charter of freedom guaranteed to the Irish Church, to prevent the misappropriation of ecclesiastical property, he took possession of the vacant Sees. We should do him much wrong, if we deemed him avaricious or grasping—his was no petty personal aim.

He added to the endowments of his See by purchases

<sup>f</sup> See *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 2, p. 1209, &c.

<sup>g</sup> The name, in Irish, meant "Servant of Jesus."

made from his own purse ; he applied the revenues of several manors to the decoration of the Church of Armagh ; and he presented it with munificent gifts in books and gorgeous vestments. He was in high repute for wisdom and eloquence. He was a man to whom one would promise and wish success.<sup>b</sup> He kept the See of Meath vacant for five years, rather than impose hands on the nominee of the king. It is said, that he carried his opposition so far, as to refuse acting on the confirmation by the Pope of the Bishop elect ; and so incurred the greater excommunication from the Pope's delegate. Rather than allow the king to seize the vacant temporalities of the Church, he allowed himself to be fined. But knowing that without co-operation, no effective check could be given to a powerful opponent, he called together the three other Archbishops and their suffragans, and the clergy, secular and regular. They bound themselves by oath to maintain the independence of the Church. Accordingly, they drew up several resolutions, which might be reduced to five heads. 1. If they or any of them, their churches, their rights, jurisdiction, or customs should, by any lay-power, be impeded, resisted, or aggrieved, that they would at their common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain and defend each other in all courts, and before all judges, ecclesiastical or secular. 2. If any of their messengers, proctors<sup>1</sup> or executors by their orders, should suffer any loss or damages in the execution of their business, by any lay-

<sup>b</sup> Harris' Bishops, p. 71.

<sup>1</sup> While in parliament, or during convocation, inviolability of person was granted to the clergy and to their servants.—State of the Realm, ii. 238. Lingard, Vol. iv., ch. i. p. 67, note 2.



power, or jurisdiction, that in such cases, they would amply and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damage out of their own fortunes, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues. 3. If any ordinary should pronounce sentence of excommunication against a delinquent, that all the other Bishops should promulgate, and effectually prosecute such a sentence in their respective dioceses. So that if a person excommunicated in one place should flee to another place, as well the place in which he continued, as the place in which he had a habitation, or the greater part of his fortune, should be put under an interdict, provided notice thereof be given in writing by the publication of such a sentence. 4. If any of the Archbishops should prove cool, or negligent in the execution of said agreement, then he bound himself by oath to submit to a fine of 500 marks to the Pope, and as many more to the faithful brother Archbishops. Each recreant *Bishop* was bound in £200 to the Pope, and as much more to those of his brethren, who should keep up to the stipulated terms. 5. They agreed, that if any Archbishop or Bishops absent at the time of this agreement, should refuse to comply when asked with the stipulated terms, then they promised to make a complaint of him to the Pope, and prosecute such a complaint to the uttermost at their common expense. Not only so, but they pledged themselves not to afford any aid, counsel, or assistance, in any affair relating to him and to his Church.

What a significant commentary is this, on the proceedings of the king and of his barons. Without dwelling on the many occasions on which the privileges of the churches were trenched on, and the great charter violated, we could simply from these resolutions form an idea of the diffi-

culties, with which the Irish Church had to contend. It was a sublime stand taken for Mother Church against one, who by his prowess was deemed the mightiest Champion of Christendom. All this was owing to the eloquence of the good and wise Mælisá. That wisdom is shown in having the fine payable to the Pope, though from the wording of the resolution, it would appear that an appeal to him by the king was apprehended. To bring about the English Bishops to his purpose, argued either the unbounded influence of the Archbishop, or the intolerable nature of the grievances complained of. We are not told, how fared it with the confederacy. But I suspect it was cut up in detail. For, in the next year, we find the Bishop of Cork fined ; and in the year 1297, the Bishop of Down, for exercising Pleas belonging to the Crown, as was said, had been fined ; and the illustrious Archbishop himself was visited with a mulct, to which he had to submit. The stand, taken by the Church, headed by the Archbishop, was noble, but it was taken too late.

Notwithstanding the many demoralizing and distracting influences at work, during the latter half of this century, we find, in reading over the annals, numerous instances of pilgrimage, often attended with danger, sometimes with loss of life. One is struck at the many examples of retirement from the world, on the part of the powerful and the high-born. And were it not for the deep religious penitential spirit, which always characterized the Irish, one may think that it was the sufferings and confusions of the times, which disgusted them with the world, and chastened them for the rules of a monastic life. In the year 1224, Cormac M'Dermott died in the habit of the Grey Friars, over-

coming the world and the devil. Felim O'Connor died in the year 1265 in a monastery of his own founding at Roscommon. After the victory of repentance, Christina, wife of M'Dermott died.\* To the readers of the Irish annals such notices are familiar, and turn up almost in every page. But if the Irish were religious, it was not much owing to the English invaders. These took little pains, gave but poor help to make them religious, to reclaim them, in the cant language of the day, from an unchristian life and filthy conversation. From the highest to the lowest, the invaders were tyrants. We find the Chief Justice accusing the Earl of Kildare, as thief and murderer; and the latter reproached the Chief Justice, as traitor. Both may be right, but it was a scandalous scene in the council board. Abusive language was unsparingly used on both sides. Swords were drawn. And till both left the country, it had no peace.<sup>1</sup>

On entering the fourteenth century, one is struck by the frequency of demands on the clergy for supplies. At the suggestion of Pope Boniface the clergy gave a grant of tenths to the king. Hothan was collector.<sup>m</sup> But never was a grant with a worse taste asked, or with more folly given, than such a subsidy. For, at this time, and on to the wars of the Bruces, the clergy and people of Ireland were groaning under the heel of tyranny. Did a Bishop incur debt in supporting dig-

\* Annals of the Four Masters, 1268.

<sup>1</sup> Campion's History.

<sup>m</sup> Liber Munerum. Cox, however, says, in order to damage the Irish Church, that the application from the King was refused, though the Irish clergy had been liberal to the Pope in aiding him against the King of Arragon.

nity, thrust on him as justiciary, or in any other civil employment by the king, for this debt, his successor was made responsible. His goods and ecclesiastical property were seized by the king.<sup>a</sup> The clergy had reason to complain, that in violation of custom and canon law, they were dragged before the civil tribunals.<sup>o</sup> Grave authors state, that in the moral code of the English, it was put down as no sin to kill a mere Irishman. A mere Irish dress was sufficient to mark one out for destruction. Hence, so far from preaching up an inoffensive Christian carriage, as a means of avoiding punishment, the English rulers guarded their people against the assumption of an Irish dress, lest death may be the consequence from their own body. A mere nominal fine was put on an Englishman for the murder of an Irishman; whereas the like crime against an Englishman was visited with the death of the Irishman. The retainers of the barons lived amongst the people, laying them under awful contributions, sparing neither the sanctity of the marriage bed, nor the chastity of the daughters.<sup>p</sup> But as there had been presented an authentic pathetic statement of these grievances to the Pope, by O'Neil, King of Ulster, I will make no apology in giving it, as far as it bears on our subject.<sup>q</sup> "To our most holy Father, John, Sovereign

<sup>a</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>o</sup> Archdall, p. 66.

<sup>p</sup> Leland.

<sup>q</sup> It was written in the year 1316.—Usher.

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clergy are not mentioned as complainants; unlikely the document was written by the Pope; that the Pope may less ceremoniously address the nobles; besides, the clergy have urged the people to

Pontiff, from Donald O'Neil, King of Ulster, from the nobles and all the people of the land. The calamities and misrepresentations under which we suffer from the English are too well known through the world, not to have reached your holiness. Most Holy Father, we are persuaded, that your intentions are pure and upright; but from not knowing the Irish, unless through the misrepresentations of their enemies, your holiness might be induced to look on as truth, those falsehoods, which have been circulated, and so form an opinion different from what we deserve. Such a circumstance would be to us a great misfortune. It is therefore to save our country from foul and false imputations, that we have come to the resolution of giving you a correct idea of our monarchy, if indeed this term can be applied to the sad remains of a kingdom, which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of English kings, of their ministers, and of their barons. Some of the latter, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us, the same extortions, rapine, and cruelties, as their ancestors inflicted. We advance nothing but the truth, and hope your holiness will express your disapprobation of such crimes and outrages. \* \* \* \* \*

It is to Milesian princes, and not to the English, that the Church is indebted for these lands and possessions and high privileges, with which the pious liberality of our monarchs enriched it and of which it has almost been deprived by the insatiable cupidity of the English.\*

an account of the Colonization of  
Ireland by the English.  
the influence of ecclesiastics in civil

His holiness Pope Adrian, by birth an Englishman, but still more so in *disposition*, early imbibed natural prejudices, and so strongly, that on the strength of false statements he transferred the sovereignty of our country to Henry II. the probable murderer of St. Thomas A'Becket. When the English came amongst us at first, they showed every mark of zeal and piety. But well skilled in hypocrisy, by degrees, and imperceptibly they undermined and supplanted us. Emboldened by their first success, they soon threw off the mask, and obliged us by open force, to give up to them our houses and lands, and take shelter, like beasts, on the mountain, in the woods, marshes and caves.<sup>†</sup> Even *there* we are 'not safe. They envy us these dreary abodes. They endeavour to chase us from them. They allege, that every inch of ground in our island belongs to them of right, and that no Irishman should be found in the land. Hence the deadly hate, the pillage, and sufferings, a state of anarchy fatal not only to the state, but even to the Church, whose members *now* more than ever are in danger of losing the blessings of eternity after the loss of all bliss in this world. \* \* \* \* \* Henry II. engaged to increase the revenues of the Church, to maintain it in its rights and privileges ; to enact good laws ; to reform the morals of the people ; to root out vice ; to plant virtue ; and to pay to the successor of St. Peter one penny for each house. These promises and conditions have not been observed."<sup>‡</sup> And firstly,

<sup>†</sup> There were at this time four towns governed by mayors—Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Ross. There were three royal burghs, with a reeve and bailiff—Kilkenny, Drogheda, and Trim. The other towns belonged to their respective Lords.—Rymer, iii. 510.

<sup>‡</sup> The Peter Pence were not, to my knowledge, ever paid in Ireland.

with regard to the Church-lands, they have been curtailed ; so that some of our Cathedrals are deprived of half of their revenues. The persons of their Clergy were as little respected as their property. On every side, we see Bishops summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the king of England. And such is the oppression exercised towards them, that they dare not inform your holiness. However as they do not, in their dastardliness, dare to speak for themselves, so they do not merit that we should. \* \* \* \* \* The document goes on to detail the enactments by the English. 1° Every man, who is not Irish, may drag the Irishman into a law-suit ; while no Irishman, unless a prelate, can have recourse to the laws against an Englishman. 2° If any Englishman kill an Irishman perfidiously and falsely, as often happened, of whatsoever rank, innocent or guilty, plebeian or noble, prelate or priest, regular or secular, he cannot be brought before the English tribunal. The more worthy a victim may be, the more his murderer is extolled not only by the magistrates, but even by the Priests and Bishops. 3° If any Irishwoman marry an Englishman, on his death, she is deprived of the third of the property, merely for being Irish. 4° If an Irishman fall by the hand of an Englishman, the said murderer can prevent him from making a testamentary arrangement, and seize his property. 5° The same English tribunal with the co-operation of some Bishops presided over by the Archbishop of Armagh, a man of very little repute for his behaviour and of less for his learning, made the most unjust regulations at Kilkenny. They prohibited all religious communities from admitting any but a native of England, in those parts of which the English are in peace-

ful possession. Otherwise they were deemed guilty of contumacy of the king's orders. Such a regulation was little needed, as even before its enactment, its spirit was carried out in regard to the Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines and regular canons. This was the more shameful, as houses for Benedictines and regular canons were intended by their founders to be thrown open to all indiscriminately."†

While such had been the awful picture of the Irish Church, and the Primate of Armagh had been blamed to some extent for such a state of things, it is lamentable to witness the scandalous controversy and contest, which had been carried on for the primacy. This contest carried on now for nearly a century, arose from a bull granted by the Pope to the Archbishop of Dublin. The contest, with more or less violence, continued during the next century. But at this time, it assumed a most serious aspect. Before the coming of the English the Archbishop of Armagh claimed the right of visitation, and exercised it on the several provinces of the kingdom. He claimed, principally in Ulster, a tribute under the name of "St. Patrick's tribute." Had the bull then granted by the Pope to Archbishop Comyn for its object, merely the exempting him from vexatious visits and oppressive taxes, and confining the Primate's authority within canonical legitimate limits, it may have been exceedingly desirable. But the bull was understood as withdrawing the Archdiocese of Dublin from all primatial jurisdiction—and very naturally. Otherwise why deny the same independence to the other Archbishoprics? The Archbishops of Tuam and

† Fordun. Vol. 3, xii. 28.



Cashel claimed it, but were defeated. Dublin stood in some respects, in the same position to Armagh, as Constantinople did to Rome. Constantinople became the seat of empire, and for that reason claimed pre-eminent dignity. Not satisfied with claiming precedence before the older apostolic Sees, supported by imperial authority, it began to question the supremacy of even Rome. So it was with Dublin in reference to precedence. It became the seat of English power in Ireland; it was filled with English Bishops. These Bishops were the representatives very often of royalty.—Why not have them supreme in spirituals? Accordingly a bull was obtained by Archbishop Comyn in the year 1182. It was dated April 13th. It decreed, “that following the authority of the holy canons, no Archbishop or Bishop should presume to celebrate synods or handle ecclesiastical causes within the province of the Archbishop of Dublin, unless he were a Bishop of the province, or some person enjoined to do so by the Roman Pontiff.” This bull was confirmed in 1216, by Innocent III., and after him by Honorius III. Besides, in the year 1221, a bull was obtained by Archbishop Loundres, which went even farther than the former bull. It ran thus—“it prohibited any Archbishop or Bishop of Ireland, except the suffragans of Dublin, or apostolic delegates, without the consent of the Archbishop of Dublin, or his successors, to bear up the cross, celebrate assemblies, or handle ecclesiastical causes in the province of Dublin, unless delegated thereto by the apostolic See.”\* On the strength of these bulls, the Archbishops of Dublin did battle for entire independence of Armagh. From time

\* Harris' Ware's Bishops, p. 73.

to time, each Archbishop, as he thought himself in favor with the King or the Pope, renewed the dispute. It disturbed the harmony that should have reigned between Reiner Archbishop of Armagh, and Luke Archbishop of Dublin. However the dispute became so fierce, that the Holy See is said to have interposed in favor of Armagh in the year 1261; and to have issued a bull confirmatory of its sentence.\* The bull gave leave to the Archbishop of Armagh to hold synods, and bear his cross through all the provinces. The decree was published in 1262 by the Primate at an assembly of Bishops and Peers at Drogheda.

However, in the year 1311, John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, calculating on the favour of the king (being his almoner) set up his claims to independence of Armagh.† The Archbishop of Armagh, whether annoyed at the opposition, or from some other cause, resigned in the following November. He was succeeded by his brother, Roland Jorse, under whom the contest assumed a ridiculous appearance. In 1313, Jorse rose during the night, and erected his cross by stealth; and carried it erect

\* The bull ran thus:—"By our Apostolic Authority, after the example of our Predecessor, Pope Celestine, we confirm to you and to your successors the Primacy of all Ireland, which you and your predecessors to this time, are known to have held firm and indisputable; and we decree, that all the Archbishops and Bishops, and other prelates of Ireland, do pay to you and your successors reverence and obedience, as to their Primate."—Jus. Primatiale Armac. Some deny the authenticity of the decree. Dr. Burke (Hib. Dom.) inclines to the same opinion. The bull went on "to give license to the Archbishop of Armagh to bear the cross, which is the standard of Christ, through all the provinces and Bishoprics, subject to you by primatial and metropolitical rights, as was allowed to your predecessors."

† Jus. Prim. Armac. Passim.

as far as the priory of "Grace Dieu," within the province of Dublin. Some of the family of the Archbishop of Dublin met him, beat down his cross, and drove him out of Leinster. By this contest for the primacy, the business of Parliament or of the great Council was brought to a stand-still. Because the Archbishop of Armagh could not be allowed to have the cross erect before him, and without the cross so carried he could not be prevailed on to proceed to Dublin. Such had been the case in 1337, But in 1349, Richard Fitz-Ralph ventured to approach Dublin on the strength of an invitation given by King Edward, who at the same time wrote to the peers and great men and mayors to help him in upholding the rights of the primatial See. Trusting to the protection of God and of St. Patrick, and the support of the king, the primate with cross erect approached Dublin. Taking up his lodging he continued there for three days. He promulgated the privileges of his See in the presence of the Lord Chief Justice, the prior of Kilmainham and the other peers who were in attendance. But the two former influenced by the Archbishop of Dublin opposed him. The primate withdrew, and having returned to Drogheda he excommunicated all who opposed him. Many or most repented of their opposition ; some went and on their knees begged absolution from the primate. And the prior of Kimainham falling sick the same year, sent messengers to the Archbishop of Armagh to obtain absolution. In the mean time, the prior died ; and till it was known that he died penitent, and till his friends promised that they would never question his primacy, the primate refused him Christian burial. The friends of the prior made the required promise—he was absolved. He then received

Christian burial. In the year 1350, the king wishing to uphold the dignity of his capital in Ireland, revoked this letter, which had been given in favour of Armagh. He alleged as an excuse, that the letter had been given under false pretexts. Accordingly in 1352 he strictly inhibited the primate from exercising any authority in Leinster. The controversy was carried to Rome. Because the authority of kings was quoted on both sides, and pope was quoted against pope. As a consequence, the following decision was said to have been come to by the Pope and Cardinals—"That Armagh and Dublin should be Primatial Sees; that the Archbishop of Armagh should be Primate of all Ireland, and that the Archbishop of Dublin should be Primate of Ireland." \* Whether given by Rome or not, the decree did not answer the desired end. For in 1365, the suit was again brought before Rome. Edward III. at this time proposed a compromise between Milo Sweetman of Armagh and Thomas Mynot Archbishop of Dublin. He suggested that each should bear up his cross in the other's province; and that both should meet in order to come to some arrangements. The Archbishop of Armagh was punctual to the appointment. The day fixed on was the 17th of September. Again, the 24th was fixed on. But on neither day did the Dublin Archbishop appear. However, on the latter day he sent his proctor, who, on the part of his master, insisted on each Archbishop bearing up his cross in the province of the other. On this account the Archbishop of

\* The supporters of the Primacy of Armagh deny this decree, because favoring too much the claims of Dublin; while the opposers of the Primacy deny the authenticity of the bull attributed to Urban IV., and directed to Scalan, Archbishop of Armagh.

Armagh begged to be excused for not attending to the writ issued by the king. Furthermore, he besought of the king, for the future to issue no writs to himself, as it was impossible for him to act on them without a lowering of his dignity. He argued that he could not allow the Archbishop of Dublin to bear up his cross in the province of Armagh. Because the Archbishops of Dublin never claimed such a privilege. He insisted that there was question, not whether the Dublin Archbishop should bear his cross in Armagh, but whether the Archbishop of Armagh should bear his cross in Dublin. Feeling the force of these arguments, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, wrote a sharp reprimand to the Archbishop of Dublin for contempt of orders; and required that he would meet him at Castle Dermot. No more is heard about the matter at that time. But often in the next century the Archbishop of Armagh stood on his rights, and refused attending Councils held in the province of Leinster. He did so because, otherwise, he thought he would lower or forfeit his dignity.

John Swayn Archbishop of Armagh, was summoned and did not attend in the years 1429, 1435, 1436 and 1438. His successor John Prene refused to attend in 1442 and 1443. And *his* successor John Mey refused attending councils to which he was summoned in 1446, 1447, 1448 and 1449. Again in the year 1533, the controversy was renewed by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh on one side, and on the other by John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin. But from the silence of Alan as to the result, who speaks of the matter, it is presumable that the result was in favor of Armagh. By and by, because Brown, Archbishop of Dublin favored Protestantism, Edward VI. decreed the Primacy to Dublin. But in

the next reign, Queen Mary restored the Primacy to Armagh. A century rolled on, and during that stormy period the prelates of Armagh and Dublin had something to occupy them, other than the insane contest for the Primacy. However during a comparative lull about the year 1670, there was question of transacting some business for the church, of signing an address to the Viceroy Berkley. Each of the rival Archbishops claimed the right of precedence in signing the address. At a time when union was necessary to the well being of the Irish Church, it was generally known that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin by rival and petty claims were at variance. But whatever disedification arose, was amply redeemed by their future sacrifices. One borne down by years and suffering in a loathsome prison, died for the faith. The other on a still more public theatre for the same faith died the death of a glorious martyr.\* It is painful to think, that natures such as theirs tempered by grace to the true heroic pitch, should have been led into the same disedifying contest, which distracted and scandalized the Irish Church for centuries. It might have been too, that their predecessors from whom they inherited the dispute, might have been prepared like them to shed their blood, if necessary, for the faith. But such a rare heroic sacrifice falls to the lot but of few. Very few have the bliss of atoning by a martyr's devotion for the imperfections of life. It is by ordinary virtue, or rather by the prudence and self-denial which may accompany every

\* See the O'Renehan Collections on the Irish Church, edited by the learned Father M'Carthy, and Dr. Moran's very useful life of Dr. Plunkett.

action of the day, that both edification may be given and good may be done to the church, Unlucky, then, was it for the illustrious Archbishops Talbot and Plunket, if they needed the libations of martyrs' blood to wipe away any stain contracted in the warmth of an unnecessary, if not ambitious contest, But infinitely more unhappy those, who did not by some such crowning last act redeem the fierceness with which ambition under the guise of principle carried on so disedifying a contention.<sup>b</sup>

Going back to the time when I took up the unseemly contest about the primacy, we find the Irish Church afflicted with another scandal and loss. I allude to the suppressions of the Knights Templars. Just about 200 years they had already lived, as a military religious order. Like all other orders, they took their rise from the circumstance of the time. They performed prodigies of valor against the infidel, and rendered incalculable service to the devout pilgrims. They became rich, and with riches came pride and a disposition to pleasure. They counted over 9,000 houses over Europe. In the beginning, nobility of birth, or even royal favor was not sufficient, without a spotless descent, to gain admittance to the order. Afterwards, there may not

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Plunkett wrote a defence of the Primacy of Armagh. The Most Rev. Dr. Talbot wrote a reply. It was styled "*Primatus Dubliniensis*." In the year 1727, Dr. M'Mahon, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote the ablest defence of the Primacy of Armagh. It is styled, "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*." From this I have drawn most of what I have stated in reference to the dispute on the Primacy. Dr. Burke (*Hib. Dominicana*) maintains, that though the title of Primate was assumed always by the Archbishop of Armagh, yet it was never given by Rome.

have been the scrupulous regard to fitness in the admissions of candidates. It is supposed, at all events, that their suppression in France arose from the most selfish motives.<sup>c</sup> Because of the wealth, which they possessed, and which sovereigns coveted, the Templars became odious to them.<sup>d</sup> Of course irregularities may be traced to individuals; but beyond question they were exaggerated. The Templars were declared innocent in the year 1310, at Mayence, Ravenna, and at Salamanca. But as the cry was raised against them, the King of England thought it his duty to imitate his cousin of France. Accordingly in the year 1307, Edward issued orders to the justiciary in Dublin to have them seized, on the same day in Ireland, as in England.<sup>e</sup> Without delay the order was put in execution. They were kept in honorable custody for three years.<sup>f</sup> However in the year following their suppression, the Pope gave orders to seize their goods. Inquisitors were appointed to procure all possible information against them. The Dean of Dublin, Canon Bandinell of Florence, and John Balla, Canon of Clonfert, were the inquisitors. The Templars were hurried to Dublin. There a mockery of a trial took place. Because whether guilty or not, their condemnation and annihilation as a religious body was resolved on. Indeed some from the hope of pardon, or consciousness of guilt,

<sup>c</sup> The Grand Master summoned to judgment Philip the Fair, who suppressed them, and the Pope, who consented to the suppression. Both died in a short time after.

<sup>d</sup> St. Antoninus. Tournon, *Hist. des Hommes Illust.* Digby, Vol. iii., p. 159.

<sup>e</sup> Rymer. *Liber Munerum.* Campion.

<sup>f</sup> Rymer, iii. p. 73.



acknowledged to crimes.<sup>a</sup> They were thrust into monasteries to expiate their past offences; and in the year 1314, the Hospitallers, a kindred order, acquired their possessions.<sup>b</sup> On reading over the testimony given by 41 witnesses against them in Ireland, a suspicion arose that the Templars met with foul play. Nothing beyond rumour was produced to lead to a verdict of guilt. One said that he *heard* of the guilt of the order; another declared that he heard from one, who too heard it from a third person, that some individuals of the order were obnoxious. Save these generalities, scarcely anything positive was elicited to the prejudice of individuals. But there was one point positively sworn to. In June 1311, one witness deposed, that at the elevation of the host, the Templars looked to the ground, and at the giving the "Pax," at the "Agnus Dei," they seemed rather lukewarm.<sup>1</sup>

When one considers on the one hand the tremendous blow dealt to the accused, and on the other, the silliness

<sup>a</sup> Rymer. *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>b</sup> Dowling's *Annals*. Archdall says it was in 1312 they were suppressed. Four pence were allowed for the daily support of each. The Grand Master, however, daily got 2s. Three pence were daily given to the chaplain, besides 20s. as a yearly stipend. The servants got 2d., besides five or six shillings for a livery. They were to perform the same services as they did to the knights. The house of Kilmainham was devoted to strangers and guests, rather than to the poor. Besides, it received sixteen benefices. The Pope issued a bull sanctioning the transfer of the property to the Hospitallers; but King Edward did not act on it. And when, by and by, the transfer of property really took place, the King assigned as a reason for the transfer, not the bull of the Pope or good of the Church, but the good of the nation.—Rymer, iii. 451.

<sup>1</sup> See Wilkins' *Councils*, Vol. ii., p. 376.

of the charge of looking on the ground during the elevation, (the looking *on the host* at the elevation with rapt veneration exposed the Irish to the charge of heresy) it is hard to know whether to smile or weep.\* After contemplating the judicial trial of an order of men spread over Europe, and subjected to the same mockery of justice as in Ireland, we may well pause for a few moments over a trial of a very different nature. It was almost unique in its way. It occurred in Kerry. The defendant was the Bishop of Ardfert, and the plaintiff was William Bristol, Rector of Ardfert. The Bishop irritated at the suit of the Prior, excommunicated him and all the friars; so that the very necessities of life were denied them. This aggravated the charge. The trial came on; action and distress were given against the Bishop. The charge against him was the stealth of the body of Saint John de Cantalupe from the friary.<sup>1</sup>

While we see religious engaged in holy rivalry in devotion to the relics of the saints, and the pious laic making rich endowments in favor of monastic houses,<sup>m</sup>

\* See a former chapter. The Pope, on some representations by the English, directed a bull to the Irish Bishops, and accusing them of heresy, said that they raised their eyes at the elevation of the host.—*Bullarium Romanum*, Vol. ii. 212.

<sup>1</sup> Archdall. A like contest was carried on, for the remains of St. Vincent Ferrer, on the part of the Spaniards, who took away the body buried in Vannes in France by the Canons.—Butler, *Lives of Saints*, April 5th, Vol. iv., 12 Vols. Ed.

<sup>m</sup> Many convents were founded at this time. Such had been the liberality of John Decer, Mayor, that the Dominicans inserted the following invocation in their litany—"Orate pro salute majoris, ballivorum et communitatis de omni civitate Dublin, optimorum benefactorum huic ordini nunc et in hora mortis.—Archdall, p. 206. Hib Dominic. makes no mention of this prayer.

while the people were suffering from the woeful grievances detailed in the letter of O'Neil to the Pope ; while the king embarrassed the Church, by objecting, at one time, to an election of a Bishop because the Pope's bull of confirmation was not sufficiently respectful to the high strained prerogative,<sup>a</sup> at another time, by fining a poor ecclesiastic for not going through the usual formalities in craving the king's consent to an election,<sup>o</sup> and again a lowly friar for receiving on the part of a convent donations against the statute of mortmain,<sup>p</sup> Robert Bruce was asserting the independence of Scotland. The Irish tracing some remote connexion between themselves and the Scotch, and above all wishing for any change, which would rid themselves of the English, invited Robert Bruce to help them in asserting the independence of Church and State. He did not come, but sent his brother, who landed with 6,000 men on the Ulster coast, about the middle of the year 1315.<sup>q</sup> Being hailed as a deliverer, he was joined by the natives. The clergy with a few exceptions, invoked a blessing on their arms. Some English adventurers swelled the ranks. All opposition, for some time, melted before Bruce. He returned to Scotland the next year to recruit his forces.

<sup>a</sup> He demurred to the election of John Lech for Dublin, and of Jorse for Armagh.—See Harris' Bishops, 72.

<sup>o</sup> The Bishop of Enaghdone was fined 300 marks for not asking the King's leave for election.—Rymer.

<sup>p</sup> The Prior of Kells (Kilkenny) was fined.—Archdall.

<sup>q</sup> It would be well if the Editor of Clyn's Annals, in his preface, told us why he puts the landing of Bruce on St. Augustin's day (28th August), while Clyn, himself a contemporaneous writer, says it took place about June.—Clyn's Annals, edited by Very Rev. R. Butler, p. 12.

That done, he again came to Ireland. The Archbishop of Armagh, with a few of the clergy, excommunicated Bruce and his followers. The Archbishop is said even to have gone among the ranks, encouraging and blessing those who fought against the Scots.<sup>r</sup> The excommunication was launched by orders of the Pope, to whom complaints against the Irish clergy were probably made. To meet these complaints, the letter of O'Neil was written. It pretends no sympathy with the clergy, it represents them as afraid to speak, it endeavours to convince the Pope, that the clergy were not the cause of the rising. But the letter betrays the hand of an ecclesiastic. It began with the miseries of the Irish Church, it closes with a detail of these miseries. The Irish ecclesiastics were in disgrace in Rome. A prejudice was created there against them by their exclusion of English from Irish canonries, the result, as was represented, of a narrow national antipathy. Though represented as indifferent to the national cause, the Irish Clergy animated the people to fight as for a holy cause.<sup>s</sup> During the three years and a half Bruce was in Ireland, the people suffered extremely. They were necessitated to scrape the corpses from the graves.<sup>t</sup> Nor

<sup>r</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>s</sup> Leland, B. ii. ch. 3. Moore, Vol. iii. p. 67. The King wrote, and in a spirit of complaint inquires about the treason of the Bishop of Ferns—his name was Adam—he wrote to the general of the order in Rome, and begged that he would correct the friars Minors, who were plotting against him.—Rymer, *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>t</sup> Provisions ran so high, that a "cranog" of corn cost 20s., a vast sum of money for these times.—Clyn's Annals. A cranog means a hamper (O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary). But, according to Sir William Betham (*Antiquarian Researches*, Vol. i. p. 25) it contained two quarters.

is Bruce represented as over anxious to alleviate these sufferings. He conducted himself towards the Church as a pagan. Nor were the English more religious. From the Shannon to Inishowen, they spared neither saint nor church.<sup>u</sup> Bruce, after some time, acted not as the saviour, but as the invader of our country. To a loose observance of lent the year before, the people in their usual supernatural view of things attributed their sufferings. Bruce's operations in Ireland met with stout opposition. His imprudent and vandal<sup>v</sup> conduct are believed to have brought the curse of Heaven on his arms. On the 14th October, 1318, a decisive battle was fought. Disaster and defeat fell on the arms of Bruce. His army was routed ; himself was killed ; and the battle-field strewn with the bodies of many Irish chiefs of noble birth, was drenched with the blood of 10,000 of their followers.<sup>w</sup> The calamities of invasion were to some extent counterbalanced by one good result.—It led to a lively representation of the sad state, in which the Irish Church was placed. The representation removed prejudice from the mind of the Pontiff. It won his sympathy.

Hence in the year 1318, two delegates came from Rome to Ireland. If they did not obtain much good,

<sup>u</sup> Annals of Clonmacnois—J. O'D.

<sup>v</sup> Campion says he committed sacrilege against churches, tombs, virgins, and altars.—Annals Four Masters. The Annals of Dowling say, that he robbed the church of Carrickfergus ; and those of the Four Masters add, that a more fortunate event than the departure of Bruce from Ireland did not happen for many a day. Robert Bruce returned to Scotland, but the brother, Edward, lost his life in Ireland.—See Haverty's History of Ireland, whose passages are word-pictures.

<sup>w</sup> Fordun. Scoto-Chronicon. Vol. iv. p. 1009.

they prevented some evil to the Irish Church. At all events, whether arising from a sense of duty, or interest, there appeared a disposition in the king to restrain the lawless power of the barons. John 22nd addressed a letter to Edward III. After some preamble, it states, "We received a long time since from the princes and people of Ireland, letters addressed to our well beloved Anselm, Priest of the Church of SS. Marcellus and Peter, for the Cardinals of the Holy See, and Nuncios, and through them to us. These letters we have read; and among others things, we saw how our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Adrian gave to your illustrious progenitor the kingdom of Ireland, as is specified in the apostolic letter to him. To the object of these letters, neither Henry nor his successors paid any regard; but without cause or provocation, heaped on the Irish unheard of grievances; and forced on them an unbearable yoke. Though their cries have reached your ears, they were not heeded. Thus no longer able to bear the tyranny, they have called in another to rule them. Our advice therefore is, that you look in time to these things; and delay not to conciliate them, lest the evil may become greater, and the Lord may transfer your kingdom to another. Remove the cause of their sufferings by honorable dealing: so that the Irish having no cause of complaint may obey you as lord. And if they (which God forbid) continue in rebellion, which they describe before God and man as justifiable, then by the removal of the cause, the rebellion will become unjust." Here the Pontiff by the case put, justifies the rising. For he adds that the rebellion, on the removal of its cause would become unjustifiable. By and by however, the Pope, either because he considered the grievances

redressed, or that the extravagances committed in the name of liberty, would not compensate the doubtful chance of success, he issued a bull in the year 1319, condemnatory of all opposition to the king. Knowing the attachment of the Irish clergy to the cause of freedom, the Pope empowered some Bishops in England by the bull, to excommunicate all who directly or indirectly attacked the king's dominion in Ireland.\*

\* Bullarium Romanum, Vol. 3, p. 117.

## CHAPTER IX.

THOUGH there were many hindrances to the advancement of learning in Ireland, during the first half of the fourteenth century, since war raged about, and broke into the cloister, yet the Irish Church produced many who advanced the cause of literature. Some of these indeed sought other countries, because offering more advantages for study. But at home, or abroad, Irish were the celebrities of the day.—Even in our own age we must marvel at the versatility of their genius. They were persons, who, amid trouble and danger, amassed those stores, on which every writer of the fourteenth century must have drawn. Adam Godham, Doctor of Divinity, was pronounced not inferior to the Prince of Nominalists, the “Invincible” Ockam.<sup>a</sup> Maurice Gibellan, Canon of Tuam, found leisure for the composition of elegant poems. Law and divinity received an admirable development from Gilbert of Louth, a Carmelite Friar.<sup>b</sup> The Series of Irish Christian Kings from Nial to O’Connor was completed by M’Æda, Archbishop of Tuam. At this time too, were completed the famous Annals of Pembridge and Clyn.<sup>c</sup> But the blaze of

<sup>a</sup> Ware’s Writers. John Major.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Bale’s Writers.

<sup>c</sup> John Clyn was a Franciscan in Kilkenny. His description of the dread mortality in 1348, is most graphic and touching. “He wrote,



fame thrown around John Dun Scotus, a native of Down, threw not only his countrymen, but all his contemporaries into the shade.<sup>4</sup> He studied at Oxford, and died in the first decade of the fourteenth century. He was styled the subtle, and it may well be added, the universal versatile doctor. He touched on every thing, "Reports," "Conferences," "Quodlibets," on the "Origin of things," "Theorems," the "Knowledge of God," "Tetragrams," "Sermons on the times," "on the Saints," "Commentary on Genesis," called in humility the "Imperfect one," on the "Four Gospels," on the "Epistles of St. Paul," "Questions on Porphyry," on "Aristotle's Predicament," on "Perihermenia,"<sup>5</sup> "Priora," "Posteriora," "Elenchi," "on the Soul," "on Metaphysics," and on "Physics." We see in him the Preacher, the able Polemic, the Divine, the Commentator, the Linguist, the Metaphysician, the Logician, and the Natural Philosopher.—Such had been the fame attaching to his name, that several nations have claimed him.

and left parchment as," he says, "for the continuation of his annals; if perchance any person live to continue them." And from the unfinished state of the annals, I would not be surprised if the plague seized him with pen in hand. He describes the scarcity of provisions, and the scantiness of the crop, and yet," he adds, "it sufficed for those who remained alive." In another place, speaking of the plague, he says, that "the confessor and penitent were carried together to the grave."

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Verneuil says, "Your's, Ireland, is the celebrated Scotus, the impersonation of all gifts, to whom the famous city of Down gave birth."

<sup>5</sup> "Perihermenia" meant interpretations.—Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ*, &c. sub voce. "Posteriora," I take to be supplements; "Priora," to be introductions." "Elenchi" were titles.—Du Cange, sub voce.

<sup>6</sup> Ware's Writers. Cavellus. Wadding.

Up to this time there had been a tendency to fill the wealthy Sees with English Bishops, and the rich stalls with English Canons. So much so, that the Irish Church found it necessary to protest against the monopoly. There had been no legislation on the matter before now. It might even have been said, that the English ecclesiastics only acquiesced in what had been the arrangements solely of the state. But such a defence could not have been made at the present time. There was express legislation against the promotion of Irish ecclesiastics. The mask had been thrown off. Alexander Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, excommunicated those, who adhered to Bruce and to the national cause. The English ecclesiastics lent themselves to the most iniquitous code, by which society could be governed; and enforced it by their censures. Even the Pope was worked on by misrepresentations to issue a bull on the 10th April, 1317, against the mendicant friars.<sup>5</sup> In fact, it may be said, there was a national schism. Altar was raised against altar. It would have been well for the interests of religion, if either the English or the Irish gained a thorough supremacy. But it was not so. There were two parties, who regarded each other instead of brothers, hostile rivals. Each with a disposition to adopt the abuses of the other, backed by national and religious jealousy, was slow to imitate what was good. It is to be regretted, that the Pope did not interfere in having the Irish Sees thrown open to men of worth, whether of Irish or English extraction: especially as when the Irish excluded the English on religious grounds from benefices, the Pope had used his

<sup>5</sup> Rymer.

interference. Now, however, the Irish on political grounds were excluded.<sup>b</sup> By the 31st Edward III. orders were given, that no Irishman should receive a benefice, lest he may give notice of what may be going on to the Irish.<sup>c</sup> There may have been efforts from time to time, from selfish motives, by the king, which would tend to restrain the excessive power of these Barons, and improve the polity of the country. But no honest effort was made to effect a wholesome change in the relations of the Church. No impression, at least of a lasting nature, was made on the king, by the letter of John the twenty-second. The only interest manifested by the king for ecclesiastics, was an interference with the Pope, that he would not press too urgently for the payment of sums required of Bishops at their promotion.<sup>d</sup> At another time, he would plead the apology of ecclesiastics with the Pope for non-attendance at Rome, on the plea of the troubled state of the country. Even the sum of money promised by King

<sup>b</sup> Edward II. would hint, that the exclusion of the Irish was based on religious grounds. In applying for a Bishop, an Englishman, he says that a good deal depends on a worthy Bishop among rude men. While glancing at the rudeness of others, he does not display a polished Latinity in his writings. The people, he says, were wanting in "liegantia," and that it would be well to have educated, loyal men, "inter bestiales et indoctis." His syntax was as bad as his style; and both were foolishly employed in running down those, who could pen such a respectable document as that sent by O'Neil to the Pope.—Rymer.

<sup>c</sup> Liber Munerum. Pryn's Collection. During the reign of Edward III., whoever had not land, or benefice in Ireland, unless of English birth, could hold no office in Ireland.

<sup>d</sup> The sum of money was enforced by censures. Sometimes, on the plea of poverty, it was eluded.—Rymer.

John, which was never regularly paid, for Ireland, had to be forgiven by the Pope at this time. Furthermore in the following year, the Pope ordered tenths of all benefices for two years, to the King, and commissioned the Dean and Chapter of Dublin to levy them.<sup>1</sup>

The church was looked after by the state for its own selfish purposes. But, protected or persecuted, once under the exclusive control of secular ministers, it failed in its mission. It became an instrument for working out the ends of grasping tyranny. During the vacancies of Bishoprics, the revenues for years were swept into the Exchequer.<sup>m</sup> The Priories were liable to be filled with the most worthless subjects. It is certain, that duties were required of them quite inconsistent with their vocation. Conditions were imposed, well calculated to introduce laxity of religious discipline, and ultimately to sap the religious spirit of the communities.<sup>n</sup> The diocese of Dublin, peculiarly under the protection of government, was anything but a sympathizing member of the body of the National Church. It was a scandal. Its cathedral churches, far from the moderation and charity becoming brethren in Christ, could not agree in the election of a Bishop. Their unseemly squabbles called for the nomination of the Pope. The

<sup>1</sup> Armagh yielded £145 10s. 7½d.; Dublin, £259 9s. 8½d.; Cashel, £105 9s. 5½d.; Tuam, £17 2s. 4d.—Pipe Rolls.

<sup>m</sup> From the year 1322 to 1331, the diocese of Ardagh was kept vacant by the King's escheators, who gathered in the profits.—Harris' Bishops, p. 252.

<sup>n</sup> Richard, chief justice of the Common Bench, brought an action against the Prior of All Saints, for allowing a crane to fly away. However, on acknowledgment of the *crime*, the judge, at the request of the plaintiff, pardoned the prior. See Archdall—All Saints' Priory.

Archbishop provoked a disedifying quarrel about the Primacy. Alexander Bicknor, in the year 1318, was made the instrument of hurling excommunication against his brother Bishops. Himself too, not for creed or country, but for debt, and, as was said, dishonesty, incurred a like sentence. He was even accused of being the abettor of heresy. There was one act, however, connected with his name, which deserved the gratitude of his successors. It was the foundation of an university in Dublin. The predecessor of Bicknor, John Lech, obtained the sanction of the holy see to the project of an university. The Pope prefaced the bull by which he gave consent, by saying, that to Ireland, cut off as it was by the sea from other centres of education, a national university would be most desirable; and that there was the less difficulty in founding one, as many doctors of divinity were to be found in Ireland. All his holiness required was, that the consent and co-operation of the Suffragan Bishops should be obtained.\* Wisely did he point to the necessity of getting the sympathy of the suffragans. But it would have been well if the hearty co-operation of all Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland were secured. That large co-operation was not asked, nor given; and the result was, that the university had only a brief existence. During the life-time, however, of John Lech, who got the sanction of Rome to the undertaking, no effective step was taken. One thing or another occurred, which proved an obstacle to the undertaking. But in the year 1320, Alexander Bicknor obtained the encouragement, and renewed sanction of John XXII. The Archbishop of Dublin drew up a code of laws. It ran thus:—

\* Alan's Registry.

“In the name of God. Amen. We, Alexander Bicknor, by the divine permission Archbishop of Dublin, do will and grant and ordain, with the consent of our Chapter of the Blessed Trinity and of St. Patrick in Dublin, to the master and scholars of the University, that the masters regent of the University may elect a Chancellor, a Doctor of divinity or of the common law. So that if either of our churches of the Blessed Trinity or of St. Patrick in the said place may have obtained that degree in either of said faculties, he shall by the same person be chosen Chancellor before all others. And if, which God forbid, any division happen on the election, that then the election be carried by the votes of the great number. Upon the resignation or decease of the Chancellor of the said University, another shall be elected within fifteen days, and shall be presented to us or our successors, or in our absence to our Vicars ; and in the vacancy of the Sees, to the guardian of the spiritualities to obtain confirmation. Moreover we ordain, that two proctors actually regent, when there are many regent masters, be elected in like manner as aforesaid. And that the said proctors, when the University is without a Chancellor, shall supply his place. And if the election of a Chancellor, be not made within fifteen days, then the jurisdiction shall devolve on the official of the court of Dublin, the See being full. Or, on the vacancy of the See, to the guardian of spiritualities it shall devolve, till the Chancellor be elected and confirmed. We grant likewise, that the Chancellor shall have spiritual jurisdiction over the masters and scholars, when they are plaintiff and defendant, and over the servants, and shall have approbation and reprobation of the will and testaments

of the masters and scholars and of their estates. However the fines and mulcts imposed for delinquencies, and the profits arising from them or from any other cause, shall be laid up in a chest, to be converted to the common benefit of the University, according to the disposition of the Chancellor and masters ; and that the proctors shall have two keys of the chest ; and a third key will be in the keeping of some other, whom the Chancellor shall name ; and the proctors shall, twice a year, give an account to the Chancellor, or to the regent masters or to their deputy.

“ And if the said Chancellor shall think fit to substitute any person or persons in his office, we give him power by these presents ; and if appeal be made from such his Commissioner, it shall be first made to said Chancellor and regents, who shall by themselves or others take cognizance of the cause ; and if appeal be made a second time, it shall be to us or the official of the court. Moreover bachelors that are to be made in whatever faculty, shall be presented to the said chancellor and regent masters.<sup>p</sup> Moreover bachelors to be licensed in any faculty shall be presented to the said Chancellor and regent masters ; and if they procure a sufficient number of masters of the said faculty, according to the time to be by them appointed to swear to their learning, and others of other faculties to swear to their morals according to their belief, they then shall pass as licentiates, notwithstanding any opposition made by the minority of the masters—otherwise they shall be passed by the grace of the University, And if a person objects any matter against one to be offered to be licensed in

<sup>p</sup> Ware's Antiquities, p. 38, Fol. Ed.

any faculty, and fails to support his charge in form of law, he shall be deemed a malicious accuser ; and on refusal to pay damages and costs to the injured party, he shall be deprived of the privileges of the University for a time, or shall be for ever expelled, as the Chancellors and Regents shall think proper. Regard being had, notwithstanding, to the nature of the charge preferred, and to the condition of both parties. We grant also for us and our successors, that the Chancellor, by the advice of the regent and non-regent masters, if there be a necessity for it, may frame laws for the honor and peace of the University, and for the removal of scandal, that may creep in at a long run, but that such statutes be presented to us and our successors for confirmation. We will also, that we and our successors may appoint a secular Regent in Divinity, or one of what order of religion we please,<sup>a</sup> who for ever in time to come may actually read lectures on the Holy Scriptures in our Church of St. Patrick, without challenge or contradiction from any person whatsoever ; and that in the absence of us or our successors in foreign parts, the Chancellor may do this in room of us or our successors ; notwithstanding that we have already denied the schools of the friars minors and preachers to be canonical. And we further ordain, that the Chancellor to be elected and to be presented to us or successors for

<sup>a</sup> How very foolishly Mr. Moore, more, indeed, as the poet than the historian (see History of Ireland), says that great liberality was displayed in these instructions. Because, not understanding the very alphabet of ecclesiastical language, he means " by any order of religion," latitudinarism, rather than a person of any religious order, whether Dominican, Franciscan, &c.



confirmation shall take the oath of fealty to us and to our successors.”<sup>r</sup>

By virtue of these concessions, and the sanction of Rome, three doctors of divinity were accordingly appointed. They were, William Hardite, Henry Cogry, and Edmund Bernardine. William Rodiant, Archdeacon of Dublin, was appointed doctor of the canon law. However, the university, because not supported by the clergy and people of the land, did not prosper. Before full thirty years had gone by, it was already on the decline.<sup>s</sup> Not long after, in the year 1358, Edward III. gave further encouragement to the institution.<sup>t</sup> An additional divinity lecture was introduced. To the students and to their servants, during their abode there, and in going to and returning from the university, every protection was afforded. Safely and gratuitously were their goods and luggage cared for and removed. Notwithstanding this patronage, the university fell away. And though we find some signs of life in it, or rather an effort made to restore it, in the reign of Henry

<sup>r</sup> Harris' Antiquities, p. 244.

<sup>s</sup> John Clyn who probably died in 1348, speaking of it, says, “It is an University in name, would that I could call it so in reality.”

<sup>t</sup> In 1358, Clerks begged of Edward III. protection in going to Dublin. They stated, that they could not go to Oxford, on account of their poverty and the dangers of the journey. He listened to their petition—Because, he said a study of the sort was held in Dublin; the sacred scriptures were explained there. On that account, he calculated, “that the listeners would be withdrawn from vice; that they would the more easily be urged to good morals; and that the peace of the Country would be more effectually maintained.” Rot. Pat. 32 Edward III.

In 1375, two Franciscans from Ennis were sent at the charge of the convent to Strasburg. The Dublin University by this time, must have appeared to have failed in its mission. Annals of Pembridge.

the Seventh, yet a few years afterwards, it completely died out. For we find, that in a provincial synod held in Christ's Church in Dublin, by Walter Fitzsimons, annual pensions were granted for seven years to the lecturers of the university. The Archbishop and his chapters, and the clergy, contributed £10. The Bishop of Ossory and his clergy contributed £5. The Bishop of Ferns and its clergy gave £5. The Bishop of Leighlin and its clergy gave five marks; and the Bishop of Kildare and the clergy gave five marks.\* Thus we see an effort was made to keep alive the university, and it is no less certain that it died out. In a parliament held at Drogheda in the year 1465, a statute was passed for the foundation of an university. The reason assigned for this step was, that there was no other in Ireland. The Duke of Clarence was Lord Lieutenant. His deputy was the Earl of Desmond. The statute of foundation ran thus :—" Likewise, at the request of the commons, because there is no university or general study in Ireland, which is a work that would advance knowledge, riches, and *good government*, and also prevent riot, ill government, and extortion in the said land—It is ordained and established, and confirmed by authority of Parliament, that there be an university in the town of Drogheda, wherein there may be made Bachelors, Masters, and Doctors in every science and faculty, in like manner as in the university of Oxford, which may also have, occupy, and enjoy all manner of liberties, privileges, laws, and laudable customs, that the said university of Oxford doth occupy or enjoy; so that it be not prejudicial to the mayor, sheriffs, or commonalty

\* Harris' Antiquities, p. 245.

of the said town of Drogheda."\* But because intended merely for a province, and founded not on the high principle of education, and broad basis of popular affection, but for selfish purposes, even this university soon fell away. The government, which, for its own ends, took an interest in the university, did not support it. The people, for whom it should have existed, took no interest in it.

A danger and scandal of a novel nature, at this time, made its appearance in Ireland. Any trouble, before this, to the Church, came from violence, from some material cause. Now it was purely of a spiritual moral character. If it were a mere subtle, plausible error, it would be more mischievous. But it was gross witchcraft. What rendered it comparatively harmless was its extravagance. Witchcraft is the peculiar growth of no particular country or age." There is a tendency in corrupt nature, unchecked by God's graces, to seek communion with, and help from, those evil spirits, whose curse originally fell on it. Witchcraft is to be met with amid Jews and Gentiles. It had its growth even beside the infancy of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> So early as the days of Tertullian, the Church found it necessary to guard the faithful against the filthy practices of witchcraft.<sup>7</sup> Though we may be prepared then, for the spirit

\* Ware's Antiquities, ch. xv.

<sup>2</sup> We may say of witches, what Tacitus says of soothsayers, "*genus hominum sperantibus fallax, semper vetabitur semper invitabitur.*"—Annals.

<sup>2</sup> The Canons of St. Basil imposed 30 years' penance on the practices of witchcraft.—Can. 7, 65.

<sup>7</sup> "You will find no enchanter, or fortune-teller, or magician unpunished in the Church."—Tertullian de Idol. cap. 9. Theod. cod. St.

of error in any age and under any shape, still we cannot realize to ourselves the surprise and horror, with which witchcraft, accompanied by the most filthy practices, was witnessed in the fourteenth century. The Christian commonwealths were somewhat of a theocratic character. Any error in faith was deemed treason, and of the worst type ; because it was directed against the Most High. Hence the anger and amaze in ages of faith at any monstrosity in religious matters. But indeed in any age the doings of dame Kitler and Petronilla would be revolting. They were accused of communication with the demons ; of having the name of the Evil One stamped on the sacred host ; and of offering sacrifices to him.\* Indeed, so early as 1320, the Bishop of Ossory had to complain of some trouble given by heretics in his diocese. He alludes to it in a pastoral address. First, he dwelt at some length on the respect entertained in all ages, as well Pagan as Christian, towards Priests. "But," continued he, "a new sect, differing from all the faithful through his diocese, appeared amongst us, —full of hellish spirits, more cruel than the Gentiles and Jews, persecuting the Priests and Bishops of God in life and at death, robbing the Church of Ossory, and earning for themselves the malediction of the Lord."

Chrysostom, Hom. 8, in Coloss. p. 1374. About the year 1460, Jaquetta his mother-in-law presented a petition to Edward IV. that the charge of witchcraft against her may not be believed. One Wade accused her of having an image, as long as a man's finger, made of lead.—Rot. P. vi 232.

\* Gathering all the filth of the streets before the door of her son, Dame Kitler, mumbled,

"To the house of William my son  
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town."

The eyes of cocks and nine chickens were offered to the evil spirit Artson, that is, the son of Art.—Clyn and Dowling's Annals.

To meet these alarming evils, the Bishop said he felt it his duty, to use all means possible. And after dwelling for some time, on the power of the Church, he proceeds—"Some of our subjects, however, children of iniquity, threaten to annoy us by dragging before secular tribunals, Priests and Bishops, who merely exercise the authority given them by the canons. Such people endeavour to prevent correction of sin, to the great scandal of God's Church, and to their own damnation."<sup>a</sup> In the diocese of Ossory, these things continued or got worse rather, till the year 1324. Then the enormities of the sectaries attained an unbearable height. Alice, or as she was styled, Dame Kitler, was the soul of these sad innovations. She was supported or joined by men in power. To one Outlaw, to Valle, to Power, to Blound or White, and lastly to one Richard, she had been consecutively married. William Outlaw her son by the first marriage, was accused of participation in her wild views and criminal actions. Men of wealth and influence, bankers and seneschals, belonged to her kinsmen. Power, seneschal of Kilkenny, endeavoured to prevent the Bishop of Ossory from proceeding canonically against Alice.<sup>b</sup> However, his entreaties did not prevail. The answers and conduct of the Bishop on the occasion were worthy of an Athanasius. But to carry out his plans the seneschal gave orders to a Power to

<sup>a</sup> Wilkins' Con. Vol. ii. p. 504.

<sup>b</sup> £3,000 were found in 1302 in possession of William Outlaw. He said it belonged to Adam le Blound of Callan. An entry too of a sum of money paid for stuff, which he gave a certain gentleman, was found.—Hence some think that he was a banker; others think he was a clothier, perhaps he was both.—Rolls Pat. 3 of Edward II. quoted in Pembridge's Annals, p. 101. Note K.

have the Bishop clapt in chains. Power accordingly came to the Bishop, and insisted on his going to jail. The Bishop required that the order for his committal should be produced. It was produced, and its genuineness acknowledged. In obedience to the order the Bishop told the bailiff or officer, to touch him or the reins of his horse. Otherwise, he declared he would look on himself as not arrested. The bailiff dared not touch the Bishop or the reins of his horse. His orders were, he said, to ask the Bishop to prison ; and, if he refused, to raise the hue and cry. To carry out his orders, then, he rode in front of the Bishop, and so placed his horse, that the Bishop could not advance. At once the Bishop took counsel with his attendants, who advised him to obey the warrant. He did obey. On being asked to present himself before the seneschal, the Bishop replied that in spirituals, he was superior to the king of England ; and that as there was question of a spiritual case, a matter of faith, that he should not, by obeying orders, give bad example to the other prelates. Crowds gathered round the Bishop's prison. It presented the appearance of a palace, the theatre of a levee, or of a festive hall. But the seneschal endeavoured to prevent such demonstration, as a censure on his own judgment. The archives were searched, and some old exploded charge against the clergy was trumped up against the Bishop. It had reference to the goods of a deceased, the disposition of which by the Bishop was questioned by the surviving wife. The archives were consulted ; and a document turned up, on which was written in reference to the matter, "quashed and not belonging to us."

At last on the 18th day, the Seneschal finding no

reasonable pretext for the confinement of the Bishop, consented to his liberation. But here a difficulty occurred. The Prelate would come forth from prison, not as a thief, but only in full pontificals. It was the least reparation, he maintained, to be made to the first Bishop, who was ever imprisoned in Ireland. He therefore proceeded from prison, not as a captive or criminal, but as a triumphant hero. But as the day, which was appointed for the trial of Outlaw had passed, the Bishop fixed on another day. However he was prevented from proceeding against the accused even on that day. For on that very day, the Bishop himself was summoned by the Chancellor, to appear and answer for laying the diocese of Ossory under an interdict, without the leave of the Justiciary. His appearance was required under pain of £1000. The Bishop defended himself by proxy. He said, it would not be safe for him to appear in person. In the mean time, the Archbishop of Dublin raised the interdict. He did so in ignorance of the facts of the case. Because, he said, he would not have raised it, had he thought there was question of a matter of faith. But as the Seneschal was holding his court on Tuesday, after the octave of Easter, the Bishop resolved to address a few words to him before the people, and invoke the secular arm. He was repelled from the presence of the Seneschal. But he was not to be kept off. So, with the sacred host in his hands, he made his way to the Seneschal. He threw him aside, and used disrespectful language to him personally, and to the sacred host which he carried. Before drawn from his presence, the Bishop three times invoked the aid of the Seneschal, and then with dignity retired. Nor was it merely from the secu-

lar power that the Bishop met with opposition. He had to defend himself from the charges of his ecclesiastical superior. Alice Kitler condemned by the Bishop, appealed to the Archbishop of Dublin. She said, she was condemned and excommunicated without being summoned. Alice relapsed, and though there were no grounds for a repeal of the sentence in such a case of heresy, yet the Archbishop instead of confirming the decision of the Bishop, to his great expense committed the case to commissioners.

On the other hand, orders from the king were issued to the Bishop for his appearance before the Justiciary. He obeyed.—Through desert places, amid difficulty and danger, he journeyed to meet the Justiciary. On his arrival there the parliament was sitting—in a few days the Justiciary opened the case. He set out by pretending to read a letter from the king, which confirmed some, not all of the liberties guaranteed by “Magna Charta.” For in the course of his observations he said, “that if the worthless Bishop of Ossory should bring a bull from the Pope, we shall not obey it unless under the king’s hand. You know better than I, that Ireland never had heretics, but was an island of saints. This Englishman, however, calls us all heretics.” The Prelates present urged the Bishop of Ossory to reply and defend the cause of religion. On rising he established the power of the Pope to frame laws for the preservation of faith, as the king did for the good of the state. Afterwards he described the conduct of Power, and repudiated the charge of branding all as heretics. But as there was a traitor amongst the Apostles, it was not wonderful, though painful, that a bad nest should be in his diocese. As for himself, he feared neither



threats nor death. Several interposed, they recommended peace with Power for the good of the church. The Bishops of Ferns, of Kildare, of Emly, of Lismore, and the Vicar-General of Dublin, were appointed arbitrators. The Bishop of Ossory alluded to the several matters of charge he had to advance; and touched on his own incarceration. Such an outrage to the episcopal dignity appeared incredible. But on his producing the warrant of arrest, all were convinced, and horrified. Then Power asked pardon—it was readily given. He and the Bishop kissed in token of a reconciliation. The latter protested that if the offence to himself personally were ten times greater than it had been, that he could embrace the offender in charity; but that he could not give absolution; that his power did not extend to that; and that all he required from Power was, that he would not favor heretics, but aid in enforcing the canons. The Bishop required, that as Alice Kitler had been already excommunicated for forty days,<sup>c</sup> and lived about Dublin, that she should be seized, that she should be summoned by the Dean of Dublin to appear in Ossory on a fixed day. The Dean promised to do so—however, Alice was not seized on, but allowed to flee from Dublin. Those in power are supposed to have connived at her escape. Because while in Dublin, the Bishop procured a commission to see after heretics. The commission was acted on, and the mother of William Outlaw was made out guilty of heresy and witchcraft. But though the poor people were apprehended, Dame Kitler effected her escape. The Bishop with great

<sup>c</sup> After Excommunication an amnesty of 40 days was given; but by a statute of Kilkenny the time was reduced to a month.

difficulty and danger made his way to Kilkenny. Those who lay in ambush to intercept the return of the Bishop were defeated, and some were killed by his friends. Many of the survivors came to acknowledge their guilt ; but at the same time said, that Dame Kitler was the mother of all the mischief. Then the Bishop wrote to the Chancellor of the existence of heretics, and expressed a hope that they would be apprehended.<sup>d</sup> He wrote likewise to the Treasurer of Kilkenny, Walter Isteleppo, to the same purpose. But he especially wished for the apprehension of Alice Kitler, of her son William Outlaw, of Robert of Bristol a cleric, of John Galrussyn, of William Payn d'Boly, of Petronilla Midia, of her daughter Sara, of Alice wife of Henry Faber, of Annota Lange, of Ellena Galrussyn, of Syssock Galryssin, and of Eve de Bronnestorm—all belonged to the diocese of Ossory. But because William Outlaw, the relative of the Chancellor and friend to the Treasurer, was concerned, a warrant could not be got for their seizure. The most that could be obtained was, that they should be seized by the seneschal Power, till they satisfied the church.

All the parties being summoned, William Outlaw, escorted by a large retinue, appeared fully armed. He was charged with a variety of crimes. The King's warrant was produced, and the guilty were ordered to be seized. Viscount John Rochford refused to act on the warrant. He said that the King gave one set of instructions publicly, but a different set in private. Therefore he was at fault how to act. Walter Isteleppo maintained that the warrant should be carried out in every possible way consistent with the King's preroga-

<sup>d</sup> This letter was dated June 6th.

tive. In the mean while, William Outlaw, to the great scandal of the people, entertained the Chancellor. Ultimately, after much trouble and delay, William appeared. He was condemned, and sent to prison. To the charge of abetting heretics, he pleaded guilty ; but denied the charge of heresy. Some influence was employed in his behalf. The penance imposed on him was, that he should hear three masses daily during a year ; that he should feed a certain number of poor ; and cover the chapel with lead. Owing to the pressing entreaties of powerful friends, on these conditions, till the day of trial came on, he was set at large through the city. Vast sums of money were offered to the Bishop for his consent to the full discharge of the parties accused. His answer to such a proposal showed disinterestedness and firmness. He replied, that were they to fill for him the cathedral with money, he could not, publicly or privately, compromise the faith.

Moreover, hearing that William neglected his penance and entertained heretics, the Bishop summoned him for trial. The trial came on, and his imprisonment was the consequence. William threw himself at the feet of the Bishop, and begged pardon. But, willing as the Bishop might be to pardon a personal offence, he insisted that reparation should be done to God and religion for the outrages perpetrated. He denied it was competent with him to absolve from the excommunication.

The Bishop addressed the Chancellor, and charged him with allowing persons to escape. Such neglect, he said, gave him the more surprise, as the Chancellor was a religious, bearing the cross on his dress ; and on that account ought to be ready to do battle for the Lord. He warns him that if he offer any obstacle to the vindi-

cation of the faith, "that the Keys of St. Peter will be shaken over his head, and that their sound will be heard, not only through England and Ireland, but even to the Grecian Sea." The Prior of Kilmainham stood forward in defence of the Seneschal Power. The result was to implicate the Prior in the suspicion of heresy, and expose him to accusation. The trial came on. There were present the Prior; the Archbishop of Dublin; the Abbots; the Mayors of Waterford, of Cork, of Drogheda; the Sheriffs and Knights of every shire.\* The Prior was acquitted, but the Seneschal was condemned.† At last, he was received to pardon, on condition that he would go to the holy land; or if lawfully prevented from going, that the expenses of the journey should be laid out in pious uses; that he should procure a mass perpetually in the church of Our Lady for the interruption to the divine rites during the interdict; that as he exposed his Bishop to the risk of martyrdom, so too he should visit the shrine of Thomas A'Becket, and acknowledge his fault publicly; that he should abstain from meat every Tuesday, till he performed the pilgrimage; and that if he failed or sinned by word or act, his heir would be bound in a thousand pounds. As a punishment, some had their garments marked with a cross; others were cudgelled. The Seneschal was condemned, among other things, to cover

\* Champion.

† The Prior gave as security the fruits of Ballygarvan and Galmoy for ten years to the Church of St. Canice, that William Outlaw would perform the penance imposed on him. At the same time the Prior is mentioned as obliged to do penance. Perhaps it was for being surety to Outlaw, who, he guaranteed, would perform the penance within four years,—Note to Clyn's Annals, edited for I.A.S. p. 54.

with lead the chancel of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, and the whole oratory and church of the Blessed Virgin, from the belfry eastward.<sup>s</sup> Others, among them Petronilla, were burnt in the year 1224.<sup>h</sup> In two years afterwards, Robert Duffe, because he denied the Incarnation, and virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was burnt in Hogges Green. And within the next quarter of a century, two men for offering contumely to the Blessed Virgin, were said to have suffered death by burning at Bunratty. The Bishop of Waterford was blamed for this act. It did not meet with the approval of the Metropolitan. To mark his displeasure, the Archbishop of Cashel, supported by the Dean of Waterford and the Mayor, proceeded to the Bishop's house, and seized his goods.<sup>i</sup>

These few cases of death on the score of religious opinion happened within a quarter of a century, from the year 1324 to 1353. They are the only instances, which occurred to me, of religious persecution to death in the Irish Church. They took place to check opinions which were aimed at the fundamental doctrines of

<sup>s</sup> Proceedings against Dame Kitler, by the Camden Society.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. Camden Society makes the death take place on St. Hilary's day, the 14th of January. It is doubtful, whether Dame Kitler was burnt. Clyn who was a contemporary, says she was condemned on a Monday, the festival of St. Processus and Martinianus, that is on the 2nd of July; and that Petronilla was burnt on the 3rd of November (the day after All Souls,) though the Camden Society implies she was burnt on the 14th of January.—Clyn, p. 56.—Clyn attributes the burning to the year 1324—Dowling's Annals refer it to 1322, and Campion who allows Dame Kitler to escape, places the burning of Petronilla in the year 1321.

<sup>i</sup> Wadding, tom. iv. 53—Harris' Bishops, p. 553.

Christianity. They took place at a time when innovation in religious matters could not have caused less surprise and panic, than if a thunderbolt had fallen at our feet.\* During these proceedings against heresy, the Archbishop of Dublin did not escape trouble; nor did the accuser, Ledred himself, Bishop of Ossory, escape the charge of heresy. The latter was brought to trial, and was imprisoned, till, after seventeen days' confinement, he contrived to get free in 1329. He laid his case before the Pope, who remonstrated with the king. The result of the remonstrance was, that the king ordered the temporalities to be restored; but yet the Bishop for a considerable time did not return. Pope Benedict XII. fearing that, in the absence of the Bishop, religion would suffer, especially as the king did not oppose the

\* Two of the cases happened within the pale; and the other two without the sanction of the Church. A century before that a deacon was put to death, in England, for marrying a Jewess. And after the Reformation or revolution in the 16th century, the most shocking persecutions occurred on the most frivolous charges of witchcraft. In the year 1537, in Scotland many scenes of the most revolting character occurred. They became still more numerous in the course of the sixteenth and following centuries. And not till the year 1737 was repealed that law, by which such deeds were done. In 1726 occurred the last death. During one year alone at Aberdeen one man and twenty-three women were put to death. The blame of such shocking acts is not to rest exclusively on the ignorant and fanatic. They were sanctioned by the great legal lights of the day. Bacon, Selden, Sir Matthew Hales, Sir Henry More. Cranmer in his visitation, 1549, inquires if any persons were guilty of witchcraft. In 1558 Bishop Jewell (Protestant) in a sermon describes the increase of sorcery to such a degree, that persons faded away; the flesh rotted; and then wound up by praying that it may not reach from the subject to the queen. Even so late as 1751, blood was spilt, and death suffered in England, for witchcraft.—See "Witch Stories," by Mrs. Linton.

enemies of the Bishop, wrote the following letter in 1334, which throws considerable light on the prevailing errors of the day. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of the true living God, who enlightens by his charity, the hearts of the faithful, that they may acknowledge his greatness, and believe in his power, in order to their salvation, and after exile, be admitted to the kingdom of heavenly citizens, has detected in these days, in your land in Ireland, crafty wolves in sheep clothing, and foxes going about, and laying waste the vineyard of the Lord, wretched men scattering the thistle among the good seed, pestilent heretics, who assume the mask of hypocrisy, but whose conversations are execrable. It has lately come to the knowledge of our Apostolic See, that while our venerable brother, Richard, Bishop of Ossory, was by ordinary right, visiting his diocese, there appeared in the midst of the Catholic people, heretics and the abettors of heretics; some of whom asserted that Jesus Christ was a man-sinner, and had been justly punished. Others having done homage, and sacrificed to demons, thought otherwise of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, than the Catholic Church. They said that the honorable sacrament was not to be worshipped; that they were not to be bound by the decrees, mandates, or apostolic decrees. In the mean time they consulted demons, like the Gentiles and Pagans; they despised the sacraments of the Church; and by their superstitions drew the faithful of Christ after them. This pestilent heresy making its way among the congregation has infected some people. This moral plague by its venom, has brought death to those whom it approached. This poisonous serpent has destroyed the souls of those infected by its pestilence.

Wherefore, we understanding that neither in England nor Ireland, are there inquisitors of heresy, and that heretical wickedness is not detected or punished by the regular officers of the inquisition ; on this account, beloved son, the Church flies to the shield of your protection, by which the splendor of the orthodox faith is shed far and near, that you may as the champion of Christianity extirpate the abusive heresies. We therefore require of your majesty, that in consideration of the reverence and honor due to the faith, and of that concern which should be manifested for the salvation of the people, you would, without delay, cause letters mandatory to be written to your Justiciary, as to your other ministers, that they may be obliged to give prompt assistance to the said Bishop of Ossory, and all other prelates of Ireland, in punishing and expelling the said heretics, according to the canon of the Church. Thus you will offer a holocaust of gratitude to the eternal majesty ; exalt the catholic faith ; honor the church ; comply with our request, exhortation, and entreaties ; raise even higher the dignity of thy name ; and contribute to the safety, renown, and prosperity of thy reign.”<sup>1</sup>

The above appeal from the Pope freed not the Bishop from trouble and persecution. Either because he intended returning to his diocese, or actually had returned, writs were issued against him, for contumaciously refusing to appear before the Archbishop of Dublin. But because the Bishop appealed to the Pope, the writs were countermanded by the king. And because

<sup>1</sup> Vatic Epistles, 909. Brennan (*Ecclesiastical History*) confounds dates and events.



the Archbishop was supposed to be favourable to the heretics, the Bishop of Ossory in 1348 was exempted from his jurisdiction.<sup>m</sup> This however did not bring

<sup>m</sup> Bull of Exemption. "It beseemeth the prudence of the Roman Pontiff, when consulting for the interests of churches, prelates and Ecclesiastical persons, to relieve all those with fatherly solicitude, who are oppressed; and to make such concessions, as may tend with God's help to the general tranquillity. Your petition has most truly set forth, that whilst you at first having consulted us according to the canons, had proceeded against certain characters in your diocese of Ossory, the said heretics seized your person, and for seventeen days detained you ignominiously in chains and in prison. Afterwards, when liberated from prison, you appealed to us from our venerable brother, Alexander Archbishop of Dublin, who inflicted many and grievous injuries on you, on your church, and on your subjects; and when you had set out, for the purpose of proceeding to the Apostolic See, in the prosecution of the appeal, the aforesaid Archbishop despatched letters to all the seaports, and all other places through which it was necessary for you to pass, doing what lay in his power, to have you cast again into prison. Besides, when through fear of imprisonment you had to live an exile, for nine years, your moveable and immoveable property was seized on, the said Archbishop by fraud, extortion, and various devices, annoyed and oppressed your church, clergy and the laity, who helped in putting down the heretics. And though we, by our letters, have commanded the said Archbishop to be cited before us, within a specified time, yet in the meantime, you may fear that he will proceed with the greater severity against you, therefore we, anxious to protect your person, and relieve the clergy and people from oppression, and in compliance with thy petition, do by apostolic authority and special power, exempt you your church, and people, as long as you preside over the church, and as the persecution continues, from all jurisdiction of the said Archbishop, and hereby place you and your church under the immediate protection of the Apostolic See. We decree that every suspension, excommunication and sentence, which may issue to the contrary, to be null and void." From this bull, it would appear, that the Bishop was in exile for nine years. It is certain, that he left his diocese in 1329, and did not return before 1331. Because the king wrote in 1329 and

repose to the Bishop. About the year 1349, he was accused of insolence to the justiciary, and interference with the king's ministers in the discharge of duty. He was condemned, and his goods were seized. Nor did his persecution end here. A member of the Power family chanced to be killed by Thomas Fitzgilbert. The Bishop was accused as an accomplice in the murder by the friends of the deceased. For full thirty years, the life of Bishop Ledred was a continued persecution for justice sake.

On the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, Ossory was again subjected to the metropolitical See.<sup>n</sup> But though the Archbishop of Dublin did not give much help to his suffragan of Ossory in his difficulties, and did what would have a tendency to excite a suspicion of his own orthodoxy, yet withal his faith was sound. Not only so, but by his wise regulations he promoted morality and wholesome discipline. In a provincial synod held in 1348 by the Archbishop, were enacted many canons, which give a lively and curious picture of the times. First of all, the necessity of holding annual provincial synods was insisted on. From the laws passed, and the punishments denounced at the

1331 to the Pope, guarding him against the representations of the Bishop of Ossory. Then other seven years of exile are to be fixed between 1331 and 1348. I am inclined to place them from 1339 to 1347. For he returned at the latter period with a bull of exemption. It is not unlikely, that on the representation of the Pope, a reconciliation with the king and the Bishop took place in 1331; and that the latter returned; and that he was obliged to leave again in 1339. On a renewal of the persecution, he fled the country again at the latter period.

<sup>n</sup> On the appointment of the next Archbishop to the See of Dublin, Clement VI. wrote to him to use vigilance against the heretics of his diocese.—*Regesta Pontificum*, vol. viii. p. 423, *Annales Minorum*.

synod, we can infer, that the people were not thoroughly reconciled to the tithe system. For, those who obstructed clerics in gathering tithes subjected themselves to excommunication, and the place in which they lived to an interdict. Then too were the rights of sanctuary upheld. It had been no uncommon practice lately, to starve or drag from the sanctuary those who fled for refuge. Against such delinquents, the heaviest censures were fulminated. Excommunicated were those, who took from houses, manors, or granges, the goods of ecclesiastics; as well as those, who favored the sacrilegious plunderers. As usual the King and Queen with their children were excepted from the censures. And though the general law strictly forbade religious from encroaching on the rights of seculars, there were complaints made on this score at the time. On that account, the Bishops ordained in council, that each Bishop should make a strict inquiry every year in the mother tongue about public sinners; that the canons should be enforced against them. And in order thereto, that the parish Priests four times each year should denounce them before the congregation. The power of the penitentiary to give absolution was restricted. It was to be denied to conspirators, perjurers, corrupt judges influenced by a motive of injuring another, and to those who indicted, or suborned the indictment of clerics. Of course even to these absolution may be imparted at the hour of death, or at any time by leave of the Diocesan, got in writing. A condition however was put to absolution at the point of death. The penitents on recovery were obliged to present themselves before the diocesan for absolution. The absolution from homicide public or

occult, was also reserved to the Bishop.<sup>o</sup> The general canon law, which inhibited religious from binding the

<sup>o</sup> Notwithstanding the difficulty of communication with Rome, the faculties granted to Irish Bishops, were less extensive than at present. The following catalogue is taken from a manuscript in the fifteenth century. The cases reserved to the Pope are expressed in the following inelegant Hexameters without the recommendation of correct prosody.

"Incestum faciens, deflorans, aut homicida  
Sacrilegus, patris percussor, vel sodomita  
Pontificem, quæras Papamsi miseris ignem  
Si percussisti clerum, Simonis fuisti  
Et si falsisti Bullam, Papæ simul ibis."

Those reserved to a Bishop ran thus :—

"Si quæ suffocat partum, aut negligit, secat  
Si pater aut mater violenter læditur, aut si  
Quis brutali nefas facit, aut in proditionem  
Qui proprium dominum perimit, vel in Ecclesia  
Sacræ lædit graviter, vel qui mæchatur in illa  
Qui matrem, cognatum polluit, atqui sororem  
Præsulis arbitrio licet, occulte subeant hi."

In reference to the foregoing, it is observed, that the Parish Priest can absolve from every case to which an excommunication is not attached. If affected by an excommunication or irregularity, the case needed the absolution of a Pope or Bishop.

The following cases were reserved:—

"Non scelus enorme, solvas sine Papa  
Sacrilegus, cleri percussor sive parentum  
Occisor fratris, puerorum, vel mulierum  
Ecclesiæ sanctæ violator, in igne vel ense  
Aut habetur coitu duplex incestus, aut omnis adulter,  
Plinius ut doceam, junguntur et his hominiculæ  
Perjurus domini, in corpore, crismate turpe  
Quis faciens ista, pœnas ineat graviore  
Tales vel similes Romam vadant, nisi sexus—  
Obstet fœmineus, aut debilis, aut senis ætas  
Tunc dispensentur a consiliis seniorum  
Puniat ecclesia, plus occulto manifestum  
Dictos, qui possunt sine Papa solvere solvant  
Quidam majorum solvant hos clave suorum."

faithful by oath or promise to choose a burial place in their monastery, which forbade them to give the sacra-

Even for a dispensation in the fourth degree of relationship, recourse had to be had to the Pope. See, among others, the case of Walter Lynch, and see Fleming's Register, T.C.D. Iar Connaught, app. 217.

I take the following list of reserved cases and the Glossary, from Archbishop Octavian's Register, T.C.D., Vol. ii. p. 680 :—

“*Officium varium, foris, appellatio crimen*  
*Peccans, non parens, res, consultatio, deses*  
*Præsuli, canonicis timidi, sententia iniqua*  
*Visitat, indulget, custos, quia Papa det usus*  
*Permutat, sociis suspectus, causam que remittat*  
*Casibus, his Primus subditis præsules arctat.*”

Then follow the glossary, and references to the Rubrics of the Decretals, Sext, and Clementines, as given in “*Corpus Juris Canonici*.”

(1) “*Officium*.” The Bishop cannot change the offices of the Province, but must conform, unless there be long and legitimate custom for it. (2) “*Appellatio*.” The Archbishop or Primate can be appealed to. (3) “*Crimen*.” When a Bishop accuses a Priest in a matter of a criminal nature, and cannot adduce witnesses, the metropolitan can be judge. (4) “*Peccans*,” is when the subject of a suffragan sins in the Archdiocese, then he can be tried there. (5) “*Non parens*,” is when a person is unjustly condemned by the Bishop, and the Archbishop orders him to absolve; and on refusing, himself has power over the accused. (6) “*Res*,” is, when the thing which the subject of the Bishop holds, is within the Archdiocese, the Archbishop can legislate on it. (7) “*Consultatio*,” is, when the suffragan refers a matter to the council of the Archbishop. (8) “*Deses Præsul*,” is, when the Bishop fails to do justice to the subjects, then the jurisdiction was transferred to the Archbishop; if it be by negligence, he must get a warning; otherwise, he need not. (9) “*Canonicis timidi*,” is, when one elected through great influence, and to the contempt of the Bishop. (10) “*Sententia iniqua*,” is, when the sentence is evidently unjust. (11) “*Visitat*,” is, that he has the power of visiting his suffragans, and must be received; or that he sends a procurator, and if he be refused hospitality, that it can be insisted on; and that he who refused it can be deprived during visitation. (12) “*Indulget*,” is, that he can give an indul-

ments of marriage, or the eucharist or extreme unction without leave of the rector, was confirmed in the provincial council. Nothing however, gives us such a clear insight into the confusion of the fourteenth century, as the facility with which benefices were acquired or forfeited. Therefore did the synod apply itself to the abuse. It was a common thing during the absence of an ecclesiastic, that another would start a claim to the undefended benefice. Either the death of the absent was put forward or some other plea, to gain possession of a living. From carelessness, or dishonesty, or too confiding a spirit, persons high in office were found to affix their signature to a statement which could not be supported by fact. On that account, Archdeacons, Deans, Choir Officials, or the Bishops' officials were

gence through the provinces. (13) "*Custos*," is, that during a vacancy, he can take charge of the diocese, if the Canons were unfit or suspected. (14) "*Papa det*," is, that beyond these, the Pope gives jurisdiction over subjects. (15) "*Usus*," is, that law and custom do give, especially to the Archbishop of Armagh, from time immemorial, the right of issuing prohibitory definitive letters to abbots and rectors, without consulting the Bishop. (16) "*Permutat*," is, when the Bishop wishes to exchange with the Chapter, he must consult the superior. (17) "*Causam que remittat*," is when the Bishop remits the case to the Archbishop without consultation, and allows the Archbishop to sit in his diocese. The Archbishop has powers in all these cases legislated on in a provincial council, or that affect the province, even in reference to the subjects of the suffragan, to receive a commission if appealed to. But, though the matter was brought before the Archbishop, but not in the way of appeal, he cannot act, unless with the consent of the ordinary, or compel a party to give testimony or make an appeal, unless warranted by custom. The Archbishop can absolve an excommunicated subject of the suffragan, if he appealed to Rome—pending the appeal—when the sentence is notoriously unjust, he can annul the sentence.

forbidden under severe penalties, to attach their names or seals to any instrument brought to them by those who were strangers to them : otherwise they were to forfeit their benefice for three years ; and those who advocated or abetted the matter were both excommunicated, and rendered unfit for office during a period of three years. No matter how certainly the death of the incumbent might have been established, yet no inquiry about the benefice without due formality could be made. It was necessary previously, that, in public chapter, the absent should have been summoned, and such time be allowed for his appearance, as, in the estimation of all, might be deemed sufficient.

The respectability of the clerical character was consulted for. Such as had taken holy orders were forbidden the office of bailiff, and seneschal, or other secular occupations without leave from the Diocesan. Not only to laics, but even to ecclesiastics indiscriminately, was the decision of matrimonial cases denied. Even rural deans, unless proven discreet men, were forbidden to touch them. And as it happened, that oblations were often misappropriated, it was ordained, that whatever was received in chapels assigned to certain churches, and intended for the parochial church, should be restored to the rector, or to the vicar under pain of suspension. Every attention was paid to the real interests of the religious. To prevent distraction, no religious was allowed, without the consent of the superior, to become an executor. Whoever became such was bound under anathema to render an account of his management to the diocesan.

Though from the earliest centuries, by the Irish Canons, a portion of the goods of the deceased was set

aside for the Priest, yet there had been some difficulty in carrying out the precise regulation of the Synod of Cashel in the twelfth century in reference to the subject. Hence the fathers of the provincial council in the fourteenth century endeavoured to confirm and enforce the statutes of the Cashel Synod by censures. Whoever prevented the making of a will, or interfered with the carrying out of its provisions, subjected himself to excommunication. Then too the interests of ecclesiastical immunity were guarded. Should any person annoy a Bishop or cleric, by dragging him before a secular tribunal, for issuing suspension or interdict incurred on account of crimes, which belonged to the ecclesiastical tribunal; or compel an ecclesiastic to exercise an office in violation of law, or to the lowering of his dignity; or carry on secular business, or execute decrees in churches, cemeteries or grounds attached to the church; or defame another maliciously and falsely for crimes not known to parties previously, and to which were attached death, or banishment totally or partially; or should any person disturb the king's peace; or seize the goods of ecclesiastics, or stir up others to do so, incurred *ipso facto* excommunication. But whilst ecclesiastical immunity was so jealously guarded, a condition to its enjoyment required a modestly becoming tonsure in honor of Him, who carried a crown of thorns. The wearing the tonsure in presence of the Bishop was strongly insisted on.

As no layman was allowed to marry, unless he proved his singleness, so no cleric was permitted to celebrate, before he put his ordination beyond question. The sale of a spiritual office was forbidden. Christian burial, or the sacraments, may not be denied to one who happened to contract debt. To ensure discrimination in the



election of rural deans, on the contingency of their not accounting for synodals and perquisites to the Bishop the electors were obliged to supply the deficiencies. The last of the twenty-two useful and interesting canons referred to ecclesiastical questors. It was framed to meet the prevalent abuses. It alludes to the disingenuous practices—pious frauds—resorted to by the questors, in appealing to the charity of the faithful. On such grounds, it required, that no one should “quest” without the sanction, either of his Bishop, or of the Bishop of the place where he begged. Furthermore, the canon required, that the appeal of the questors be confined to the decretal sayings in the words of the Apostle, “We shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,” “and we ought to sow seed of everlasting fruit, and guard against the day of judgment; for he who sows sparingly shall reap sparingly, whoever sows in benediction shall receive it and everlasting life.” Whoever then allowed questors to propose any other than these motives to the charity of the people, incurred suspension from ministrations for a year. At the same time, the disobedient questors incurred the sentence of excommunication; and after the expiration of forty days under that sentence, they were seized and imprisoned. When one then thinks of the necessity which existed of enforcing, by censures, the payment of tithes; ecclesiastical immunity; and of the portion of the goods of the deceased to the clergyman, even in the province of Dublin, it is easy to imagine what a nullity had become those decrees of Cashel, for which Ireland had been doomed to the horrors of invasion. The fathers of the provincial council wound up by recommending, that in every week, unless during Lent, in honor of St. Patrick, there should

be a solemn commemoration of him on some vacant feria,<sup>p</sup> with a full choir, through the province ; that his festival be celebrated as a double ;<sup>q</sup> that the festivals of the five patron saints of the cathedral churches be doubles in choir ; that on these festivals the people should abstain from rural works, meditate on the life of Christ and virtues of the saints ; that the festival of St. Laurence be a double, and that of the 11,000 Virgins ; that the translation of St. Patrick be celebrated with nine lessons ; and that where a proper office is found, a copy of it should be sent to each diocese.<sup>r</sup>

We saw that the exclusion of Irish ecclesiastics from livings was not merely understood, but legislated on. In pursuance of this policy, Edward II. in 1324, sent the Bishop of Cork, as delegate to Rome. While doing so, the king expressed a wish to learn the will of the Pope, not through the delegate, but through the Archbishop of Cashel. However, to lead the Pope, he stated it not only as his opinion, but as that of the Archbishops, that it would be well to excommunicate the disturbers of the public peace, to annex the poorer Bishoprics to the principal ones ; that no See not worth £40, or £60, or £20 should remain independent ; and that English subjects should be professed in Irish, as well as in English monasteries. Than the last proposal

<sup>p</sup> Feria was any day in the week except Sunday.

<sup>q</sup> The double office was more important than the semi-double. The principal difference was, that the latter had a greater number of commemorations, and required only the first words of an antiphon to a Psalm to be entoned at the beginning ; whereas the former required the antiphon in full to be entoned. The character of the music, too, was affected by the nature of the office.

<sup>r</sup> Wilkins' Councils, Vol. ii. page 746 et seq.

nothing more showed his wrong-headedness, and one-sided sense of justice. By the statutes at Kilkenny, the Irish could not be received into the English houses. Not satisfied with escaping a reprimand, the king insisted that the Irish should receive unworthy English subjects into their communities. Men who were full of self—creatures of the state—could not be got to accept poor Bishoprics. To remove the objection, then, the monarch beseeches the Pope to make them worthy the acceptance of his English hirelings. John the twenty-second issues a bull for the union of Cork and Cloyne. On the strength of the bull, a movement to that object was made in 1330; but the original bull could not be found. Nothing therefore came of it. And as the Bishop of Cork lived in the year 1377, and as the Bishop of Cloyne, an Englishman, who applied for the union, was degraded in 1377, no union of the two dioceses, for a long time after the first attempt at it, took place.\* But to leave no doubt of the disposition of the monarch to the Irish Church, only look to his policy in reference to the dioceses of Tuam, of Enagh-dune, and of Achonry. Enagh-dune and Achonry were poor indeed; so poor that O'Connor in urging an appointment to the latter, said it was not worth more than 20 marks; and the former, in its most prosperous state, was contemplated by the Synod of Kells to be united to Tuam.† And in point of fact, Edward I., as far as in him lay, did unite them. But Edward II.

\* Harris' Bishops, 560.

† Enagh-dune was united to Tuam. This was the effect of an arrangement between the Pope and the Bishop of Cork. And when in 1330, the Archbishop took possession of Enagh-dune, the King was dissatisfied.

insisted that there was an union only of the temporalities by his father, who had no desire to interfere with the rights of other Sees ; and then, giving out the real motive of his conduct, said that as Tuam was amongst the Irish, and Enaghdone among the English, an union of both was impossible.<sup>u</sup> Nor was the policy of Edward III. different. He granted all the waste lands to the prelates, to be held by themselves and successors for ever—notwithstanding the law of mortmain,<sup>v</sup>—provided they caused them to be inhabited by those not friendly to the Irish. I should have noticed, that the Bishop of Enaghdone was chosen without license from the king. In other circumstances, he would have kept the See vacant, or prevent the temporalities from being received during months, for a violation of etiquette. This violation he now overlooks, in order to keep the Irish from the benefit of English law.<sup>w</sup> In pursuance of the instructions with which the king contrived to have his delegate, the Bishop of Cork, furnished from Rome, a council of the Archbishops, some Bishops, and the nobility decreed, that every Bishopric not worth £40, especially amongst the Irish, should be suppressed.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Liber Munerum. Rymer.

<sup>v</sup> Rymer, Liber Munerum. The reader will be good enough to bear in mind my remarks on the mortmain law in a former chapter, in opposition to the views of Mr. Finlason.

<sup>w</sup> Rymer, ad. an. 1321.

<sup>x</sup> Ad. an. 1324. Amongst others, instructions were given by the Pope, that the sees of Enaghdone, Kilmacduagh and Achonry should be united to Tuam. The council did not carry out these instructions. (Harris' Bishops, p 560.) In 1225, there was a royal mandate that the sees of Waterford and Lismore should be united. In 1226 John 22nd ordained that on the death of either bishop, the survivor should enjoy both sees ; and that though the election should take place in the principal cathedral, the canons of both cathedrals should concur in the election.

But while the English monarch was using all pains to make the Irish and their clergy, outcasts on their native soil, while he showed such a disregard of religion, they did not tamely submit. The Irish communities required from postulants an oath, that they were not English. The Irish endeavoured feebly to imitate the exclusive spirit of the Anglo-Irish,<sup>7</sup> and rose in rebellion. The people turned their anger not only against the Anglo-Norman laics, but even against the ecclesiastics. Better, perhaps, than a thousand facts in proof of the maddened excitement of the people, is the treacherous light in which they viewed the English Priest. The Irish have been proverbially attached and reverential in their bearing to the clergy. They were so in the days of Gerald Barry. They were so in the sixteenth century in the days of Campion.<sup>8</sup> God be thanked, they are so to-day. We will not be prepared, then, to hear that the Irish of Leinster rushed from the mountains on an English congregation while assisting at mass ; struck at the Priest ; and though offering the tremendous sacrifice with the host in his hands, he with eighty of his congregation were put to death.<sup>9</sup> In the year 1336, Master Howell of Bath, Archdeacon of Ossory, Andrew Avenel, and Adam de Bath, while defending their churches were slain by O'Brying.<sup>b</sup> The Conacians pursue the English, who take refuge in the Church of Kilkenny, and burnt it with its fourteen churches.<sup>c</sup> A principal reason put forward by the

<sup>7</sup> Cox, Vol. I.

<sup>8</sup> Campion, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Campion, Clyn's Annals.

<sup>b</sup> Clyn.

<sup>c</sup> Dowling's Annals, 1362.

Anglo-Irish Bishops, for the remission by the Pope of a sum of money given to him at their consecration, was that they had been laid under a tribute by the Irish.<sup>d</sup> The Irish people felt themselves ground to the earth, brought to that point, when suffering was unbearable. And though they were pretty generally in arms in the year 1338, yet there was no apparent concert.<sup>e</sup> Even the Anglo-Irish felt dissatisfied. For, Edward recalled all the privileges of marriage and of wardship, and all the debts which were looked on as pardoned. However, because a strong opposition was offered by the Earl of Desmond, the king abated his claims.<sup>f</sup> His attack, powerless against the Barons, was directed against the Church. He assessed a tax, and so rigorously exacted it, that all whose benefices were above six marks in value, had been mulcted.<sup>g</sup> And yet so jealous was he of the Pope's authority, that he forbade any person taking benefices on the strength of Pope Clement's (VI.) provision.<sup>h</sup> He called a Parliament at Kilkenny. There two shillings in the pound were levied on ecclesiastical property. Property under £6 was not rated. Some were obsequious. The clergy of Meath, of Louth, the prebendaries of Dublin, St. Patrick's, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, the clergy of Ossory, those of Ferns, and the abbot of Baltinglass contributed.<sup>i</sup> But the

<sup>d</sup> Rymer, *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>e</sup> Campion.

<sup>f</sup> Campion, *Leland*.

<sup>g</sup> Rymer.

<sup>h</sup> By the canon law, Pope Clement could and did bestow many living of the Irish Church by "Provision." The provision consisted in a determination on the part of the Pope, to confer a certain living, even before an election had taken place, on the man of his choice.

<sup>i</sup> Those parts of Ireland subject to the English were called the Pale. It comprised in 1330, Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix. These were five Palatinates. The king's writ did run, not in these, but in the cross-lands.—Sir John Davis—*Leland*.

Archbishop of Cashel objected to any such contribution. He pleaded the greater charter granted to the Irish Church ; and standing behind that charter, not only refused any aid, but excommunicated all who either paid or received the ecclesiastical tribute. He declared them incapable, and their descendants to the third generation, of holding benefices. The king's commissioner, William Epworth was by name excommunicated. The Archbishop summoned his suffragans, the Bishops of Limerick, of Emly, and of Lismore. They met to deliberate on what steps should be taken to oppose the king. They were prosecuted, found guilty, and punished.\*

Hitherto there has been a systematic effort to fill the Irish Churches and prebends with English subjects, not for the good of the people, but from the same motive which brought the invaders first to our shores—from the most selfish purposes. At the same time, it may naturally be supposed, that there might have been a disposition to instruct the people. But there had been a stern resolve to keep Irish Priests and people away from the Pale, and keep the English colonists encamped in thorough isolation from their neighbours. To recruit the failing population among the Anglo-Irish, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, brought over 1500 persons from England. He turned away from the Irish, and forbade them his presence.<sup>1</sup> In 1356, Rokeby surpassed by his amiable disposition, all his predecessors. His laws were deemed satisfactory by many. He abolished the distinction between the English by birth, and English

\* Leland.

<sup>1</sup> Campion, Leland.

by descent. He was a model ; he was in advance of his age, but, at the same, even *he* could never be induced to grant preferment in the church even to a denizen Irishman within the Pale.<sup>m</sup>

Exclusion, from all places of trust and emolument, and the infliction of physical suffering, did not give so much scandal, as the Primate in his contest with the mendicant orders. They had, indeed, rendered invaluable services to the church. They supplied a great, if not the greatest number of our sees with Bishops, during this and the next century. Animated by the spirit of their founder, like most orders in their infancy, they laboured with zeal and success ; and passed through life without reproach. However, it would appear that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, some of them threw aside the religious habit to the great scandal of the faithful. Orders were sent to the Justiciary to have them apprehended, and restrained to strict discipline.<sup>n</sup> Besides, it is not improbable, that at this time the Primate and the Friars entertained opposite views on the rights of sepulture and the perquisites from it.<sup>o</sup> That spirit of disinterestedness, which characterised the orders originally, was subsequently weakened. However, the apologists of the Friars say, that they incurred the resentment of the Primate by defending some church-furniture, which he coveted and sought to take from their convent.<sup>p</sup> Irritated at their opposition he denied their privileges

<sup>m</sup> Campion, Leland.

<sup>n</sup> Rymer, Liber Munerum.

<sup>o</sup> Harris alludes to it, p. 82.

<sup>p</sup> Wadding.



and exemptions. For doing so, he thought the present a favorable opportunity ; because a cry was raised against them in England.

Even so early as the year 1340, and ever since, there had been a jealous controversy between the University of Oxford, and the mendicants. At the present time, it was at its height ; Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, threw himself into the contest. In the year 1357, he put forward his " *Defensorium Curatorum*," or defence of the secular priests.<sup>a</sup> His propositions gave scandal, and drew a refutation from his adversaries. The guardians of the Franciscans and Dominicans cited him before the Pope. The papal residence was at Avignon at the time. He advanced nine propositions. "1° That our Lord Jesus Christ, was very poor in a human state ; not that he loved or willed poverty for its own sake. 2° That our Lord Jesus Christ never begged. 3° That he never taught men to beg. 4° That our Lord taught men not to beg. 5° That no person can with prudence or holiness oblige himself to perpetual begging. 6° That the friars minors by their vows are not obliged to beg. 7° That the bull of Alexander IV. which condemns the book of the masters, does not invalidate any of the aforesaid conclusions. 8° That for persons making confessions, their own church was preferable to the oratories of the friars, without however excluding them. 9° That for making confession, it is better to go to the Priest than to the friar."<sup>r</sup> In the year 1358, the Pope making special mention of Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, condemned the nine propositions.\* But the

<sup>a</sup> Marlborough.

<sup>r</sup> Ware's writers.

<sup>\*</sup> Hib. Dominicana.

decision of the Pope did not end the controversy. It lasted after the Archbishop's death. The secular priests kept the matter alive, till in 1401, a bull directed by Pope Boniface IX. to the Bishops of Kildare, of Cashel, and of Dublin, set the question at rest.<sup>1</sup>

In getting through the period assigned to this chapter, in order to form a perfect image of some objects we viewed them to the exclusion of others. It were to form a wrong picture, however, on the whole, not to bring before the mind all the objects, which may serve to give variety and contrast. In the deeds of violence and oppression in the wars of nations and races, aggravated by religious prejudices, acts were done which one could not but regret, and which some of the actors surely must have regretted. Over the dark field, however, gleams of sunshine pass. There are spots on which one can dwell with poetic pleasure. The work of demolition went on ; but from the wonderful sap in the Catholic Church, and the peculiar leaning of the Irish to the monastic life, many magnificent religious houses overspread the land. There may have been

<sup>1</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 64. The extravagance of the Archbishop's positions may have been occasioned by the bold encroachments of the friars. Because in later times, there had been a complaint from the Bishops, that parochial churches were emptied by the large, if not questionable indulgences held out in the convent chapel ; and that the confessionals of seculars were deserted owing to the indiscriminate enrolment of the people in masses, in the third orders of the friars. Many who, through life, neglected not only the counsels, but the broad commandments of God, were decked out in death, in the full dress of one of the orders. —See Appendix to O'Renehan's MSS. learnedly edited by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy. For the check applied to the publication of indulgences by the Propaganda in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, see appendix to Hib. Dominicana.

deeds done for fatherland, which reason or humanity could not defend ; but on the subsidence of passion, religion maintained its ascendancy. We see it exemplified in the Lord of Brefney, in the heir to all Ulster, in the Lord of Moylurg,—all of whom took the monastic habit.<sup>u</sup> How characteristic of the nation—of high supernatural views—when death was seizing its victims in thousands, to see the people acknowledge in it the chastening hand of God for their sins, and to witness the penitential pilgrimages gone through at Thabit, in order to propitiate the anger of God, from whom only they expected comfort!<sup>v</sup> Amid their own many troubles, their strong faith and large charity found room for sympathy for the sufferings of the devout pilgrims at the holy sepulchre, and yearned to rescue it from the pollution of the infidel. What a subject for a picture, to see them register their vows, grouped around the great cross in Kilkenny, and marking their flesh with a red-hot iron, that they may the more sensibly feel themselves pledged to succour, and “not to forget Jerusalem”!<sup>w</sup> They worked for future generations. In their endowments, they remembered their fathers, who in the “rude hamlet slept.”<sup>x</sup> They went about, doing good to all with whom they came in contact. In the year 1350, says Campion, Ken-

<sup>u</sup> O'Reilly joined the Franciscans in 1330 ; M'Dermot of Moylurg in 1331.—Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>v</sup> Thabit was in Co. Carlow.

<sup>w</sup> Clyn's Annals, an. 1335.

<sup>x</sup> William Fitz John, Bishop of Ossory, in 1312, binds himself to support four priests, who were to live collegiately in the church of Kilkenny, for the repose of the souls of Edmund Botiler, Joan his wife, and their son.—Annals in Camden Society.—Note to Clyn, page 14.

wicke Shereman, a benefactor to all within twenty miles of Dublin, died. Not to speak of the charities he gave while living, he left 3000 marks to the poor. "And then," adds Campion, "with such plenty were our fathers blessed, who cheerfully gave of their true winnings to needful purposes. Whereas, in our time, one gaineth *avariciously*, and whineth at every farthing spent on the poor, and yet we are oppressed with scarcity and beggary."

## CHAPTER X.

JUST as it was the practice to fill the Irish Sees and livings with English men, even before any legislation had taken place on the matter, so, before the present, there had been a disposition for a considerable time, to keep the Irish and English asunder. The delusive notion vanished, if ever entertained, that the sole single aim of the English had been to impart to the Irish Church its own tone, its morality and discipline; and to the Irish people the benefit of its laws. Masters of the line of coast, generally, and of the principal towns, about the year 1330, the English struggled to keep possession of their acquisitions, if not to extend the limits of the Pale. Those within the Pale were strongly forbidden to hold communication with those outside. On this matter such jealousy had been entertained, that, lest the least sympathy may exist between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, thoroughly English colonists were imported by the Duke of Clarence. English laws were denied even to such of the Irish, as lived amongst the English.\* Whatever was to become of the Irish church, and the reformation of the people, there had been manifested an unsocial unfraternizing spirit by the English rulers. And though this spirit had been encouraged to some degree, yet till the present year it had not the solemn

\* Leland, B. 2, ch. 2.

sanction of a legislative assembly. In 1367, a council was held. In this some laws were enacted, which have passed under the name of the famous Kilkenny statutes. Besides the chief minister of state, there were present the Archbishops of Tuam, and of Cashel, and of Dublin; the Bishops of Lismore, of Waterford, of Killaloe, of Ossory, of Leighlin, and of Cloyne; together with the temporal peers. After speaking of the Marriages of English with Irish as too common, all such marriages for the future were declared illegal by the council. Fosterage, gossipred,<sup>b</sup> were also strictly forbidden. Whoever may be found transgressing those statutes was to be found guilty of treason. The ninth clause ordained, that when the Archbishop or Bishop excommunicated at the request of the king, that the excommunication when come to the knowledge of the king's officers should be observed by them. Even before this, in the year 1309, in the third of Edward II. the excommunication ran in the names of the Bishop, of the Justiciary and of the nobles. The excommunication, then, was of a politico-religious character.<sup>c</sup>

The fourteenth clause in the Kilkenny statutes decreed, that no prelate without the sealed sanction of the

<sup>b</sup> There was not and perhaps is not a nation, which attached so much importance to the ties of gossipred as the Irish. Whoever was deemed likely to be influenced by such a tie, may, as a matter of course, be objected to, as a juror.—Hallam Const. Hist. Vol. ii. ch. 18. The impediment of spiritual relationship was not set aside, at the council of Trent, on account of the representation of Irish Bishops. They stated that the influence of such as were connected by gossipred was more powerful in reconciling those at enmity, than what arose from the nearest ties of blood.—See History of Council of Trent, London.

<sup>c</sup> Hardiman on the Statutes of Kilkenny, p. 99.

Lord should receive a villein to holy orders.<sup>4</sup> If any one used the Irish language, dress, or name, he, by the said statutes, forfeited his lands; and if he had no lands, he was, till he gave sufficient security, to be imprisoned. The Brehon or Irish laws were forbidden. Whoever submitted to Irish jurisdiction was declared guilty of treason. The Bishops denounced excommunication against those, who allowed the Irish cattle to graze on their lands; or Irish ecclesiastics to get into benefices; and against those who listened to bards or story-tellers. Some exceptions were made in favor of some cherished few, in regard to the admission to benefices. Thus in 1385, leave was given to Richard, abbot of Knock, near Louth, to enjoy the abbey. Why? Because his ancestors were English and favorable to the crown. A like exception was made in favor of William, prior of the house of the B. V. M. in Louth; because his possessions had been possessed by the Irish.. John O'Kery too received a like favor, merely because his ancestors had been English.\* So stringently was the law enforced, that, though parts of the Archdiocese of Dublin required a knowledge of the Irish language in the ecclesiastic, and none were who understood it, yet, till a decree of Parliament in 1485 made it safe for him, the Archbishop of Dublin dare not, unless at peril of his life, send an Irish priest to the natives.<sup>†</sup> It is painful to think of the state of the people, against whom these statutes were enacted. But the most painful part is, that ministers of that Gospel, which broke

<sup>4</sup> *Ibd.* p. 107.

\* Patent Rolls of Richard II.—Hardiman's Statutes of Kilkenny, 47 page.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibd.*

down every wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, should have lent their sanction to the statutes. Hence such ministers may well be deemed the slaves of government. Contrary to the privilege of their order, they had to appear in England, and for the purpose of taxing themselves.<sup>a</sup> Two clergymen represented each diocese. They were proctors. In going, they protested, that it was not to grant money. They pleaded ecclesiastical immunities. Still more strongly did they plead their poverty. They went, as they wished it to be understood, only to give advice.

The diocese of Dublin sent John Fitz-Ellis and Thomas Athelard; Cashel sent John Giffard and the Rector of Kilmainham—saving the rights of the church. The Bishop of Meath promised to pay 100 marks for his diocese to avoid sending a representative. However, saving the rights of the church, he sent Bartholomew Dollard. The Bishop of Kildare promised to send representatives, not to give money, but to tender advice. The Bishop of Leighlin sent Richard White and William White; but at the same time they assured the king that they could not promise any money. Because, exclusive of what was possessed by the Irish, there were not more than fourteen carucates of cultivated land in their diocese; and that one-tenth of that was not sufficient for their support.<sup>b</sup> The Bishop of Ossory sent

<sup>a</sup> The prior of St. John Baptist was exempted from coming to the marches or sending hobelers, on account of their services to the king and to the poor. This shows if any proof were necessary, that services to the state were required of monastic bodies.—Archdall.

<sup>b</sup> A Barony contained 30 Ballybetaghs, or 120 quarters. Each quarter 120 acres.—*Tribes of Hy-Fiachra*, p. 149, note. Gerald Barry (*Hib. Expug. lib. ii. ch. 18*) says that the barony contained 120 quar-



John De Acres.<sup>1</sup> The dioceses of Waterford and Lismore were represented by their Bishops and by Philip Baye. The Bishop of Ferns sent William of St. John, Dean, and Richard Whitty. The Bishop of Limerick sent John Fox and John Route. The Bishop of Cork sent Thomas Rice and John White. In the absence of the Bishop, the Vicar-General of Cloyne sent a Thomas Prior, and John Sandy. The Bishop of Kerry sent Master Gilbert, and John Fitz-John.\* Whether money was promised or not by the representatives, at all events after the council at Kilkenny £2000 were voted ; and not long after, an additional sum of £1000 for the wants of the nation was voted.<sup>1</sup> But while the English Monarch so oppressed his subjects of the Pale, he appeared the more jealous of the Pope's authority, and careful that he should not in his difficulties be relieved by his children. For a long time, the presentation to benefices in Ireland was a matter of dispute between the Pope and the King. To understand this, it may be

ters.—O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* p. 24-25.—Colgan *Trias. Thaum.* p. 19, Col. 2—4—51.—*Annals of the Four Masters*, an. 1186, p. 70. Some identify a carucate with a plough-land. Others give eight carucates to a plough-land. Gerald Barry says, that a cantred contained 100 towns. So that there was no fixed standard for the size ; nor, according to Ware, was there a fixed measure for a plough-land. For, it generally meant, what would give employment to a plough, through the year. Monck Mason quoting Gerald Barry, says that each cantred contained thirty-two town lands, and each town-land eight carucates.—*Parochial Survey*, Moore's *Ireland*, vol. i. p. 301.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Ossory was appointed representative of the Kilkenny barons. But they were obliged to substitute for him, William Cotterell—Leland *App.*

\* Appendix ii. to Leland, vol. i.

<sup>1</sup> This was a vast sum, if we consider, that the revenue of Ireland at this time did not exceed £10,000.—Gordon's *Ireland*.

well to premise a few words on "provisions." In the multiplicity of business, and owing to the difficulty of communication, the Pope allowed the appointment to Bishoprics without recurrence to himself. He had much less difficulty in leaving to others the appointment to benefices. But as time went on, and as the complicated relations of civilization involved the Pope in trouble and sometimes in wars, he found it convenient for the rewarding of faithful and worthy servants to have the disposal of benefices. He asserted his right. In rewarding faithful services, he had no idea of neglecting the interests of the church.<sup>m</sup> The Pope then, sometimes, from the plenitude of power reserved to himself the appointment to a certain benefice, even before it had become vacant. To such an appointment, to any appointment by the Pope, the King was decidedly opposed. With the best intentions in the world, the Pope, it may be admitted, was liable to appoint an obnoxious individual. He was liable to be deceived sometimes by the venal representations of his officials. But from selfishness, and not from the inconveniences of appointments by provision were they opposed by the King. Such opposition and anger did appointment by provision excite, that it incurred the penalty of "Premunire."—Or rather, the statute of "Premunire"

<sup>m</sup> Pope Clement learning that his nephew had three benefices compelled him to resign two.—Spond. 222.

In the thirteenth century, the famous Grosseteste, on a visit to Innocent IVth at Lyons, laid a memorial before him; and traced the evils of the church to the corruption of the world, to the venality of the servants of the Roman court, and to the clauses "non obstante." To the credit of Pope Innocent he ordered the memorial to be read before all.—Lingard, vol. ii.

was first passed in 16th Richard II. against those who received benefices from the Pope by provision. By that statute, one forfeited goods, and chattels ; and incurred imprisonment during life, or the king's pleasure. By it one could not resent a personal injury.<sup>a</sup>

Notwithstanding such legislation, the Pope appointed to livings. Sometimes there was a division of time in the appointment to benefices between the Pope and the Bishop. Sometimes there was a division between the king and the Pope in such appointments.<sup>o</sup> Sometimes, the ordinary was allowed to present to the poorer livings, while the king claimed and exercised the right of presenting to the richer benefices. In 1374, a dispute of two years' standing was terminated. Gregory the eleventh pledged himself not to appoint to benefices by "provision." The king bound himself not to appoint by letters "Quare impedit." By the withdrawal of the claims of each, full freedom in domestic nomination to benefices was established in the Irish church.<sup>p</sup> But after the passing of the Kilkenny statutes, appointments by provision were forbidden by the king. He denied to the Pope's delegate, leave to enter the kingdom. He for-

<sup>a</sup> Premunire facias, "were the words with which the statute began : by the 25th of Edward III. under the statute of premunire, one may be killed. However it lost that severity by the 5th of Eliz."—Brown's Penal laws, p. 16, note.

<sup>o</sup> Pope Adrian IVth was the first pope who reserved prebends.—See Thomas, part ii.

In 1398, in cathedral and collegiate bodies, the Pope and the ordinary were to present alternately, till the Pope had three presentations. In other benefices, the Pope and ordinary were to present alternately for fourteen months. If the person presented were not agreeable to the King, another was presented.—Wilkins, can. iii. 237.

<sup>p</sup> Hib. D. ch. i., Wilkins' Councils.

bad under heavy penalties, any Bishop to receive or publish a bull of excommunication.<sup>4</sup> He cut off that friendly intercourse which should subsist between the several branches of a religious order. Some houses of the Cistercian order, because they sent some contributions to the sister houses in France, were persecuted by the king.<sup>5</sup> The king prevented the gathering of Peter pence in the Pale.<sup>6</sup> Even his successor, in 1396, grudged the smallest living to one of the Pope's dependents and instituted a process to eject the Dean of St. Patrick's.<sup>7</sup>

In the Pale, the people were oppressed by taxation ; the lawyers were corrupt ; the clergy were slaves ; and the prelates were employed as commissioners for raising forces.<sup>8</sup> Deplorable must have been the condition of those, who within the pale were denied the benefit of English law. Melancholy must have been their lot, deprived of the ministrations of their own clergy. They could not have been exhorted or reprov'd in the old familiar language. As no Irish friar or beneficed clergyman may live within the pale, many must have found it difficult to approach the sacraments. But while in

<sup>4</sup> He forbid it under the penalty of loss of temporalities. In England, the Commons gave leave to the King to modify the law relative to excommunication. The prelates protested against every thing that trenched on the privileges of the Pope, or liberty of the Church. In Ireland, the prelates raised not a voice for freedom of the Church ; nor did the monarch use his dispensing power in reference to the law on excommunication.

<sup>5</sup> Archdall.

<sup>6</sup> Dowling, an. 1369

<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Randolph, by a "Quare impedit," was put from an Irish living. The King complained that many of the Pope's dependants enjoyed Irish livings, though not living in Ireland. — *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>8</sup> See Leland, B. 2.

the hands of the monarch, the church was a mere puppet, there was not among its members, a spirit rising with the occasion—which would tend to neutralize such corrupting influences. Dublin was a public theatre on which ecclesiastics played their disedifying antics. In the year 1392, the canons of St. Thomas attacked the Abbot, John Seargeant ; and to secure the services of the mayor and mob, they stole some chalices. So effectually were the services of these secured, that when ordered out by the Chief Justice's men, the Canons did not disperse. Several acts of robbery were committed ; the sacred hosts were scattered on the ground ; and the abbot with his party narrowly escaped murder.\* In another part of the Pale,† between an Archbishop and his Suffragan, we witness the most unhandsome outrageous scene. Either from the wrong-headedness of the Bishop of Limerick, or the encroachments of the Franciscans on the privileges of the secular priests, disputes became so warm between the Bishop and the friars, that the latter claimed the interposition of their conservator, the Archbishop of Cashel. He remonstrated with the Bishop and spoke of the grievances of the friars. But the Bishop only flew at him and tore his clothes. The Bishop was cited for trial ; but this only made him heap more grievances on the friars. He excommunicated all who would have recourse to the Franciscan friary, either for divine service, or for burial. His name was Creagh. He was accused of heresy by the Archbishop. And the Archbishop and his attendants coming to Limerick narrowly escaped being murdered.

\* See Archdall, p. 186.

† Indeed Thomond may be said to be fairly severed from the pale, and mastered by O'Brien.

All who supplied them with food were excommunicated by the Bishop. Persons sent in pursuit of the Archbishop molested him and pulled the bridle off his horse.\*

To add to this confusion, the great schism of the West worked its bad consequences in Ireland. The reader must be aware that in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Pope found it necessary to leave Rome. He took up his residence at Avignon. After some seventy years, his successor proceeded to Rome. Owing to the long stay of seventy years on French soil, the Popes were influenced to admit very many Frenchmen among the Cardinals. Three-fourths of the Cardinals were Frenchmen. But not long after the removal of the Popes from Avignon to Rome, a vacancy occurred in the Papacy. An election took place. The Cardinals, principally the French Cardinals, affected to believe the late election to have been influenced by the violence of the Roman populace; and proceeded to a second election. Two rival Popes appealed to the obedience of Christendom. France, Cyprus, Sicily, Naples, adhered to Clement. The rest of Europe clung to Urban VI. The rivals had successors—one set in Rome, another in France—for full eighty years. During that period, Christian Europe was distracted by this schism. To Clement, who was afterwards acknowledged to be anti-pope, many of the Irish clergy adhered. Several appointments, of course, were made by Clement in Ireland. But on the accession of Boniface IX., two diplomas were expedited annulling the appointments made by the Dominican general, Raymond Tolosanus.† In 1381, Pope Urban wrote to the guardians

\* Harris' Ware's Bishops, 508.

† Hib. Dom. p. 52.

of the Franciscans of Galway, to have all excommunicated who adhered to the anti-pope, Clement VII. He also deposed a worthy man, Gregory O'Moghan, because promoted by Clement.\*

At this time, and especially in the next century, to have an accurate notion of things, one must consider the Irish Church, as distinguished from the Anglo-Irish. Because the views, the actions of both were different, yea opposite. And when one may be pronounced to be in a comparatively triumphant state, the other indeed may be styled a militant church. Though the Bishops of the Pale contributed largely to the necessities of the state, the Bishops among the Irish were not asked to pay. The Archbishop of Tuam did not answer the circular, which summoned to Parliament. The Irish Bishops had a great deal to do ; too much to do, to spare time for attending Parliaments in order to tax themselves for the subjugation of their country. A difficult task it was to keep the just anger of their subjects within proper bounds. The position of the people may easily be realized, by considering, that deputies were sent by the king to Ireland, with unlimited power either for the maintenance of territory actually in their possession, or for the acquisition of more. The lands in the hands of Irish chieftains were held out as a reward to adventurers. But whether the natives advanced or receded, the Irish ecclesiastics moved with them. They were in possession, about the close of the fourteenth century, of two-thirds of the country. They were styled "the enemy" by the English. Frequent mention is made of applications to the king by the

\* Harris' Bishops, p 611.

clergy of the Pale, for redress of the injuries done to them by the Irish.\* The Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, whether paid by the king, or living in peace on tithes, and oblations, behind the Pale, were sure of maintenance. The livelihood of the Irish ecclesiastics was more precarious. But though not richly salaried, they were to be envied. Because they clung to those who struggled for a nation's freedom.

The Irish ecclesiastics, as well of the first as of the second order, had a voice and seat in Parliament. My remarks apply only to the Anglo-Irish clergy within the Pale. From the very beginning those abbots who held of an Earldom, and Bishops as temporal Lords, exercised a decided influence on the great councils of state. The second order of the clergy, as clerics, had not always a seat in Parliament. The Pope was seen to have appealed to the religious and charitable feelings of the clergy in his difficulties. The appeal brought him considerable supplies. The king seeing this, thought that he too might use them as so many sponges to suck money from the people. Whether this, as some think, suggested the idea of giving representative influence to the clergy, or that analogy pointed to them, as a corresponding or counterbalancing supplementary power to the knights, as the Bishops were to the Lords, I am not prepared to say—But in the middle and particularly towards the close of the thirteenth century, the second order of the clergy met in Parliament. The Irish clergy did not sit apart from the laics in Parliament as the English clergy in convocation. When in convocation, the clergy were divided into Archbishops, and Bishops; into

\* Richard II. gave £40 yearly for the support of the Bishop of Kilmore.



Priors and Abbots ; into Deans and Archdeacons ; and the general body of the clergy formed the fourth division.

Parliamentary summons ran thus :—

“ To the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Clerks, who hold of an Earldom or barony. All these, and only these, were to attend at their own expense : To the Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, Abbots, Clerks, Deans, and to other privileged persons, who had jurisdiction, that by the assent of the clergy there may be elected for every deanery and archdeaconry of Ireland, and for themselves, the Archdeacons and Deans, two wise and competent persons as proxies, for the said deaneries and archdeaconries, who were to come and remain in Parliament, to answer, and support, and consent to do whatever each of the said deaneries and archdeaconries would have done if present.” The Proctors were ordered to come with duplicates of the warrant, sealed with the seal of their superior. One of them was to be delivered to the Clerk of Parliament, for enrolment. The other was to be kept by themselves. If the Parliament were to be held in Dublin, the Archbishop of Dublin sat at the right of the King, or of his representative. If the parliament sat in Armagh, the Archbishop of Armagh took the right. If the parliament were held neither in Dublin nor in Armagh, the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel sat at the right ; the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam sat at the left of the King. The remaining Bishops and clergy sat at the right, under the second bench. On the left, under the corresponding left bench, sat the Earls, Barons, and the Knights. Parliament did not sit on All Saints’ day, on the nativity of St. John Baptist, or on Sunday. It opened generally at a quarter

to one o'clock. But on holidays, owing to divine service, it did not open till one in the afternoon. Some of the clergymen of the diocese wherein the parliament was held preached. The Earls or Peers answered only for themselves. The Knights, because representing others, had more influence than the Earls. The same may be said of the clergy; because they bore the same relation to the Bishops, as the Knights did to the Earls. Should the Knights and the clergy have been absent for good reasons, no business in their absence could be transacted by the Bishops and Earls. But the absence of the latter did not prevent the Clergy and Knights from proceeding to the business of the day.<sup>b</sup>

The proctors had the same privileges as the Lords.<sup>c</sup> Very rarely were the clergy asked to the English Parliament. Nor were the parliaments at home of annual, or frequent occurrence. But unfrequent as they were, there was a reluctance in attending them. It was deemed rather a burden, than an honor to be a member. Hence to enforce attendance, fines were often resorted to.<sup>d</sup>

The Irish Church cannot produce, in the latter part of this century, many writers, of whom it could feel peculiarly proud. M'Grath M'Gawan in Tipperary acquired some fame as a genealogist of Irish Saints, and

<sup>b</sup> Harris' Antiquities. Selden. Prynne.

<sup>c</sup> Liber Munerum, 7th Part—3rd of Edward IV.—8th Henry VI.

<sup>d</sup> In 1377 the Chapter of Cashel was fined for not sending proctors to Parliament. The Bishop was represented at the time; and this circumstance clearly proves the right and obligation of attendance on the part of the second order of the clergy. The privilege or burden of voting was taken away by the 28th of Henry VIII. in order to carry the "Reformation."

of Irish Kings. O'Hogan of Nenagh too as the compiler of the annals of his time acquired some fame. But this fame did not reach much farther than their own country. As a mathematician and writer of law, William of Dooghed acquired some renown at Oxford. But there were two others, who were far more famous by their writings. Fitz-Ralph of Armagh, and Crump who was Doctor in Oxford. They possessed talents, which if properly directed, would be of use to the Church. But their prejudices against the mendicant orders got the better of their judgment. They showed themselves in a variety of treatises, most of which in some way or other, denied the necessity or utility of the religious orders. On the whole, it must be acknowledged, that literature was not much raised in the fourteenth century. To judge from some limping verses the poetic muse took no bold flight; nor was there anything dignified in the pace of the historic muse. There were however compilations made, of invaluable service to the writer of the early ecclesiastical history of Ireland.\* The art of painting at this as at other times in Ireland as developed for sacred purposes, or by ecclesiastics, was at a discount. Unless indeed under painting may be included the art of calligraphy and illumination, which attained unrivalled perfection.

The tints were laid on so brightly and skilfully, the curious device traced with such wondrous cunning, the various colors so happily combined, and the whole so large and beautiful, that the illumination of the letters wore the appearance of a painting, and the work of

\* What goes by the name of the "Leabhar Breac," may be assigned to the present period.

angels.' The art of engraving too received a wonderful development from the Church. This would appear even from the "Domnach Airgid" alone. I will lay a description of this venerable piece of workmanship before the reader for several reasons. Because it will illustrate the progress of the arts in connection with the church ; because hitherto it has appeared in no ecclesiastical history ; and because it will show with what veneration and attachment, the faithful clung to the relics of their saints.\*

"The 'Domnach Airgid'<sup>b</sup> was an oblong box, nine inches long, seven inches broad, and five inches in height. It was composed of three distinct coverings. The innermost was of yew wood ; the second of copper, plated with silver ; and the third of silver, plated with gold. The first was used by St. Patrick ; the middle one was put on in some time between the sixth and twelfth century. The last is of great interest, as a specimen of the skill and taste in the arts at its time, also for the highly-finished representations of ancient costume which it preserves. The ornaments on the

\* Perhaps than the books of Kells, Europe supplies nothing grander or more beautiful in point of illumination.

<sup>a</sup> I will take the description from XVIIIth. Volume of the Transactions in the Royal Irish Academy, written by Dr. Petrie.

<sup>b</sup> In St. Patrick's time, "Domnach" was applied to a reliquary, or generally to a church. In the tripartite life of the saint, it is said that "he bestowed on M'Carthan, Bishop of Clogher, the 'Domnach Airgid,' which had been given from heaven to St. Patrick when on the sea, coming to Erin." This, coupled with the fact, that, in the opinion of Eugene O'Curry, and of Dr. Todd, F.T.C.D., the copy of the Gospel preserved in the reliquary may be traced back to the fifth or fourth century, leaves no doubt of its having been in possession of our national Patron.—See O'Curry's, MSS. materials, vol. i. p. 325.

top consist chiefly of a large figure of the Saviour in alto relievo, on the centre are eleven large figures of saints in basso relievo, on each side in four oblong compartments. At the head of the Saviour, there is a representation of the dove or Holy Ghost enamelled in gold ; and over this a small square reliquary covered with crystal, and which probably contains a supposed piece of the true cross. Immediately over this again is a shield on which the implements of the passion are emblazoned in blue and red paste ; and above this, there is a square reliquary similarly covered with crystal, but of a smaller size. The smaller figures in relief on the first compartment are the Irish Saints Columba, Brigid and Patrick ; on the second the Apostles, SS. James, Peter and Paul ; on the third the Archangel Michael, the Virgin and Child ; and on the fourth a Bishop presenting a ' Cumdach ' or cover to an ecclesiastic—a device which evidently has an historical relation to the reliquary itself, and which shall be noticed hereafter. There is a third figure in this compartment, which I am unable to explain. The rim is ornamented on its two external faces, with various grotesque devices executed with very considerable skill, and the angles were enriched with pearls probably native, or other precious jewels. A tablet on the rim and at the upper side, presents the following inscription in the character of the 13th and 14th centuries.—' Johannes O'Karbri Comorbanus St. Tighernani permisit.' Another inscription in the same character preserves the name of the artist, by whom the embellishments on the outer case were executed, and is valuable, as proving that this interesting specimen of ancient art was not of foreign manufacture. It will be found on a small moulding

over one of the tablets—'Johannes O'Bardann fabricavit.' The first side of the case presents three convex platinæ, ornamented in a very elegant style of art, with figures of grotesque animals and tracteries. They are enamelled with a blue paste, and have in the centre of each cup an ancient crystal, covering relics like those on the top. An interesting feature on this side is the figure of a chief or nobleman on horseback, with sword in hand. It exhibits with minute accuracy the costume of the nobility in Ireland during the fourteenth century. The ornaments contained within the rim on the back or opposite side are lost, and their place has been supplied by the recent repairer by figures, which originally belonged to the right and left sides. On the right hand side, the upper compartments present a figure of St. Catherine, with those of a monk in the attitude of prayer on the left, and a boy incensing on the right; these latter figures are not in relief, but are engraved on the field of the tablet. The second or lower compartment of this side is lost. On the left hand side, the upper compartments present the figure of an ecclesiastic seated in a chair or throne, his left holding a small cross, and his right raised in the act of giving benediction. Figures incensing are engraved on the field. This principal figure probably represents St. Maccartin or Tigernach. The under compartment exhibits a figure of St. John Baptist, holding in his left hand a round medallion, or picture of the lamb, and in his right hand a scroll on which are inscribed the words, 'Ecce agnus Dei.' A figure of the daughter of Herodias, with the head of St. John Baptist on a salver, appears engraved on the field. The bottom, or back, of the case is ornamented with a large cross, on which there

is an inscription in the Gothic or black letter. This inscription is at a later date than those already noticed, but I am unable, from its injured state, to decipher it wholly. It concludes with the word 'Cloacher,' the name of the see, to which, as I shall presently show, the reliquary originally belonged. I now come to the most important portion of this important ornament of antiquity—the treasure for whose honor and preservation so much cost and labor were expended. It is a Latin MS. of the Gospels; but of what text or version, I am unable, in its present state, to offer an opinion; as the membranes are so necessarily incorporated by time, that I dare not venture, through fear of injury, to separate them. These Gospels are separate from each other. Three of them appear perfect, but the fourth, which is the Gospel of St. Matthew, is considerably injured in the beginning; and from this two leaves have been detached, which have enabled us to ascertain the subject of, as well as the form of letter used in the MS., namely, the uncial, or corrupt Roman character, popularly called Irish."

An entry in the Four Masters under the year 1356, will enable us to consider still further the art of engraving in the Irish Church, in connexion with the veneration of sacred relics. "The bell of St. Patrick was this year in possession of O'Mellan." That bell, in reference to its privileges and claims to veneration, was second only to the "Domnach Airgid." It was in the fourteenth century and for generations before, in possession of the Mullholland family.<sup>1</sup> It was 9½ inches high, 6

<sup>1</sup> Stewart's Armagh. Could Mellan be a contraction of O'Milhol-land?

in length and 4 in breadth. Its appearance was simple ; but the ornaments of the cover show the great veneration in which it was held. The ground of the cover was brass—edged with copper. The case at the top ends in the form of a compressed mitre. The quadrangular sides, and the top are curiously and richly engraved : gold and diamonds and precious sapphires of various hue were set in it. Curious devices are raised in gold filligree. Below on its margin, the following inscription ran—“ The bell was presented by Domnald O’Lachnan to Domnald, the comarb of Saint Patrick.” But many centuries at least, before the manufacture of this cover in the first years of the eleventh century, if not in the time of Saint Patrick, was the bell itself made.\* Strange were the vicissitudes through which that bell passed. In 1441 the O’Mellan family was degraded from being guardians of it.<sup>1</sup> A pastoral was addressed by the Archbishop of Armagh on the occasion. “ I, John, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Armagh, to the faithful greeting. Considering that for a long time, John O’Mellan—who acts as chief of his clan, and guardian to the bell of St. Patrick of blessed memory, by the permission of our metropolitical and primatial church, and from the prelate who presided at the time—being sworn to the said church and public to shew himself faithful and obedient ; and, as long as it was the good will and pleasure of the church to leave it to him, to care the bell and the revenues, by reason of the privileges of the bell : considering this ; and that not for a long period, in our own time, or in that of our

\* Stewart’s Armagh, Preface.

<sup>1</sup> Pryne’s Register



predecessor, did he give an account of himself; and that disobedient and faithless to the oath sworn by him to the church, he still keeps the revenues against the will of the prelate and his tenants: on this account and for not paying the revenues due, he has incurred the sentence of suspension, and excommunication, and interdict. And though suspended and excommunicated and interdicted, by apostolical sentence, for maintaining Charles O'Mellan in the deanery of Armagh, and has remained under such censures for seven years, despising the power of the church, whence it appears he deserves to be counted a heretic, rather than an humble obedient child of the church: on this account, we consider him not only unworthy as a keeper of the bell, but deprived of all honor, privilege, emolument, till he merits to be absolved from the said censure, since the laws of the church do not allow its privileges and immunities to those who violate them.—We deprive him of the guardianship of the bell, and all honor and emolument; and place it under the care of another, Patrick O'Mullehallynd, the captain of his sept—as long as it may please the church—and we ordain that all our subjects laic and clerical not to pay John O'Mellan any dues, honor on account of said bell; but rather look on him as suspended, excommunicated, interdicted, deprived of all privileges; and to avoid his society as pestilential, under pain of suspension, excommunication, interdict, which are incurred ipso facto, at the expiration of nine days. Besides, we enjoin all ecclesiastics through the province, on the days, and in the places that they can meet the congregations in greatest numbers, to publish that persons acting against our order will, after the third day after publication on your part, incur

the penalty of excommunication, suspension and interdict. Given at Dundalk in second year of consecration." This gives us a pretty clear idea of the importance attached to the bell—to see it contended for by two chiefs of their respective clans. From the same Archbishop, a letter was sent to O'Mulchalind, appointing him guardian of the bell, and inflicting censures of excommunication, suspension and interdict after nine days, if he dared to let it fall into the hands of O'Mellan or any other.

All this was enacted on a small scale in reference to a bell, or some relic of many other Irish saints. The crozier of St. Patrick, called the staff of Jesus, held in the highest veneration, was compared for its wondrous virtue to the rod of Aaron. The "Cathach" of St. Grellan was borne in battle.<sup>m</sup> The bell of Inismacsaint was held in great veneration. For the discovery of truth, people swore by it. The swearing brought blessings on the innocent, but awful visitations on the guilty.<sup>n</sup> In our own time, for the same purposes, and with the same veneration, was the bell of St. Senanus employed. It remained, till a few years ago, in possession of one family. Whoever wished to establish his innocence, or get a clue to a stolen article, borrowed the bell, and after using it, restored it to the keeper.<sup>o</sup> No less forcibly illustrative of our subject, than the

<sup>m</sup> Tribes and customs of Hy-many, p. 84.

<sup>n</sup> Colgan acta, S.S. p. 114.

<sup>o</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis (part 2 ch. 32 ad distinctiones) says that a bell in Leinster was found in Clonard (Meath), at a vast distance from where it had been the preceding evening. He speaks of it as a miracle; but another would see in it only a pious theft, a natural desire of possessing oneself of any relic of a saint.

relics of our national saint, is the "Cathach" of the great founder of our monastic orders, St. Columbkille.

The "Cathach" of St. Columbkille consisted of some fifty-eight leaves written on both sides. For many years there remains of it only that portion of the psalms from the thirty-first to the hundredth and sixth psalm. The leaves have been lost, which comprised the psalms from the first to the thirty-first. I should have said that the "Cathach" was only a copy of the psalms. It was composed under the following circumstances. Once on a time, the great founder of Irish monastic orders had been on a visit to Saint Finnen of Dromfin in Ulster. And during his visit, chancing to see a copy of the psalms he fell to transcribe it. Whether it was, that he feared being refused leave to transcribe, if observed; or that he expected to have been presented with the copy, if seen to take an interest in it, and so wished not to be troublesome to St. Finnen, certain it is that St. Columbkille applied himself privately to the work of transcription. In order to this, after all others used leave the chapel, he remained alone in it. However while writing out the psalter he was observed by some of St. Finnen's friends or domestics. Though observed he was not interrupted. And it was only on the completion of the transcript, that St. Finnen demanded the transcribed copy. St. Columbkille refused acceding to the demand. He maintained that what was got at his own cost and trouble and without loss to another, belonged to himself. This did not satisfy St. Finnen. He insisted on claiming the copy as well as the original. Dermot Gerrbheoil was monarch of Ireland at the time. To his arbitration the litigated matter was referred. His decision was in favor of St. Finnen. St. Columb-

kille though thinking himself unfairly treated abided by the decision. But something else happened by and by at the hand of Ireland's monarch which was too much for the temper or zeal of Columba. A son to the king of Connaught was a hostage with O'Kervil monarch of Ireland. His steward was killed by the Connaught prince. Terrified, and conscience stricken he ran to the protection of St. Columba. But the Saint did not screen him. He was dragged from the knees and embraces of the saint. And lest the saint himself would depart, he was kept under arrest in the palace. Before long, however, he contrived to make his escape.

Remembering the injustice done himself personally by arrest, and the wrong decision in reference to the "Cathach;" and burning with a holy indignation at the murder of the Connacian prince in violation of the sanctuary laws, St. Columbkille directly proceeded to his friends, the O'Donnells of Donegal. He besought them to avenge—not a personal injury which he could forgive—but the gross outrage on morality and religion. At once they flew to arms. They were joined by the father of the murdered prince—the king of Connaught. Both parties met at Cuil Dreninne, between Sligo and Drumcliff. After an obstinate engagement, the forces of the monarch of Ireland were routed; himself narrowly escaped with his life. The decision of the monarch in reference to the transcript of the psalms, was supposed to have brought war on his hands, as much as the murder, and violation of sanctuary in his own palace. From this circumstance, the psalms, or the shrine in which they were kept, got the name of "Cathach." The

\* Catha signifies battle.

shrine was adorned in each succeeding century by the ablest artists. It was carried always in battle, as a means of ensuring victory. It was borne three times round the camp of the O'Donnells before battle, by the holiest priest.<sup>9</sup> After that the war-cry "O'Donnell Aboo" was raised; forth rushed the hosts to combat; and each man conscious of acting in presence and under the protection of the "Cathach" became a hero, and fought with the confidence of victory.

<sup>9</sup> See Sir William Betham's *Antiquarian Researches*, and Eugene O'Curry's *MSS. materials of Irish History*.

## CHAPTER XI.

By reading the thirteenth century backward, one can form a general notion of the fifteenth century. Society was in a shifting state. Now the English law prevailed : by and by, the Irish or Brehon laws prevailed. On the whole, the boundaries of the Pale receded. So much was it narrowed during this century, especially towards its close, that the English were not in possession of much more territory than at the end of the twelfth century. This difference, however, between both periods is observable, that so many acts of fearful violence do not appear in the later as in the earlier years. This, perhaps, was owing to the overwhelming strength of the Irish, and the inability of the Anglo-Irish to offer the same resistance as they met with, on their first coming, from the Irish. However there was a troubled jarring society for the Church to harmonize, and fit for heavenly citizenship. With regret we must admit, that the Church, at least within the Pale, did not succeed in this grand object. Because the Church was as much affected by society, as it was affected by the Church. Before this, there was at least towards the Anglo-Irish, a show of fair play. The monarch affected to wish to reign over Ireland, only to make it more civilized and and happy. But owing to the insecure tenure of it, feeling it slip from their hands, county after county,

and turning their attention from Irish affairs during the wars with France, and the wars of the Roses, the English kings committed to rapacious governors the uncontrolled management of Ireland.<sup>a</sup> The governorship though accompanied with a facility of acquiring riches, was yet often refused. Nor was the refusal deemed disobedience in the subject. Because, being a post of trouble and danger, it was looked on as a banishment.<sup>b</sup> Amid the perpetual shifting of society for centuries, and the many demoralizing acts of fearful aggression, and no less fearful reprisal, it is consoling, that the religious spirit was strong among the faithful. And therefore, as if the love for monastic life had not been yet fully displayed, we witness the same desire as of old to multiply religious establishments.<sup>c</sup> Yes, they appear rising up more thickly in this, than in the preceding century. If one considers the times in which these endowments were made, and the number already made, he will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that they were heroic displays of a religious feeling. They were heroic, and they were necessary. For, the Church as represented by the Pale was in a bad plight. There were many evil influences at work from without ; and we can find corresponding danger within from its own ministers. There had been indeed one hope for the Anglo-Irish Church, and that hope it cut away. I mean provision by the Pope to vacant Sees. He, as father of the faithful, and one who had the concern of all Churches, had such opportunities of making a worthy choice, as no petty insulated Church enjoyed.

<sup>a</sup> Leland.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid, B. ii. chap. 5.

<sup>c</sup> See Appendix.

New life could be poured into it by such means. There would have been a safeguard against the introduction of abuses or customs at variance with general discipline. And thus while the Pope rendered service to an individual Church, he could by promotion reward faithful service.

One source of inconvenience to the church I said, came from without. It arose from the mercenary unfeeling disposition of the viceroys. They undertook a post of risk, and what was regarded as banishment ; and they indemnified themselves for the sacrifice. Such as came over from England, penniless, returned richer than those who owned whole counties.<sup>d</sup> The only condition made with them was, that they would preserve Ireland, or the Pale for the English crown. By cruelty and corruption, they did keep it. There were some, but very few, exceptions.<sup>e</sup> The Duke of Bedford, by letters patent appropriated to himself all the king's domains, and all the gold and silver mines of the kingdom. The Church indeed was to get a tenth. The time had gone by, when that church could, without stint, by the productions of nature make the altars blaze in splendour.<sup>f</sup> During the years, 1413 and 1414 the Lord Lieutenant's administration was marked by the most sacrilegious rapacity. He gave neither happiness to the layman, nor quiet to the ecclesiastic in the sanc-

<sup>d</sup> In laying their complaints before the king, the knights asked, "How does it happen that a person coming from England to Ireland, for a few years, went back richer than those with large properties in the latter country?"

<sup>e</sup> Thomas Rokeby in 1353 preferred eating off wooden dishes to have left his servants unpaid. \*

<sup>f</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Geoghegan, p. 362.



tuary. In the words of the annalist, "he brought trouble on all with whom he came in contact." Farnival succeeded and walked in the foot-steps of his predecessor. In the words of the same annalist, "he spared neither saint nor sanctuary." He departed, and carried with him the curse of many.<sup>a</sup> On condition, that he would be allowed to present to vacant benefices, the duke of Lancaster undertook the government.<sup>b</sup> And when after some time, Ormond came to the representation of government, the parliament in granting supplies drew up a list of grievances. Among other grievances, they complained of the general corruption of the governors; that the churches were kept without pastors; and finally, complained of the exaction of coyne and livery. They wound up by a most extraordinary demand, that he would request the Pope to preach up a crusade against the old Irish. Those who would flesh their swords on the Catholic Irish, as readily as on the infidel, surely, to say the best, were not in a very Christian state of mind. They raised the cry of danger and demanded supplies. But so much were the demands of the Irish Parliament looked on as emanating from a selfish few, that the Chancellor would not affix his seal to them.<sup>c</sup>

The Church of the Pale, instead of giving an example of moderation, of energy, and of zeal, in meeting these evil influences—instead of preaching up peace, and restraint on the lust for conquest—only proved itself a fitting instrument in the hands of the state. Nothing

<sup>a</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, Con. Ed.

<sup>b</sup> Cox, Hib. Anglicana, vol. i. p. 407.

<sup>c</sup> Leland, B. iii.

could be more foreign from the profession of the minister of the Gospel, than to encourage the wars, which were waged at that time. The English clergy gave up every idea of going in among the natives, and exercising their ministrations for them. Their aims, perhaps, were never so high. They did not adopt the proper means to make themselves efficient even among their own countrymen. The Prior of Kildare buckles on armour, and leads on the English against the Irish.<sup>k</sup> The principal dignitaries of the Church acted a like disedifying part. The Archbishops of Dublin were Justiciaries. They had to look to the peace of the realm. They gathered together the priests and people; all moved in procession, and offered public prayers for the defeat of their neighbours fighting for their country and homes. Some 3,000 of the Irish were said to have been slain on the occasion. "Te Deums," of course, were chaunted. But the annalist, with very great reason, adds, "would that the devout prayers of the Priests attributed their victories to God." They did not, and could not attribute to God's special interference those acts which are the result of sin.<sup>l</sup> Such instances of a warlike spirit in ecclesiastics were any thing but rare. Did the King require a reinforcement for his French wars, the prior of Kilmainham is under way at the head of 1600 soldiers.<sup>m</sup> Is a sally to be made, and are several of the enemy to be taken down, or castles to be razed, the Archbishop of Dublin heads the charge, and directs the battering company.<sup>n</sup> The prelates, from the offices they filled at that time, far

<sup>k</sup> Marlborough.

<sup>l</sup> Dowling, an. 1414.

<sup>m</sup> M'Geoghegan, p. 360.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. It is said that thirty of the enemy were slain.

from being ministers of peace, were only men of blood. The absence of many of its ministers was another source of ruin to the Church. So much was this the case, that parliament insisted on their return. Hence we can imagine the neglect of souls, the ruinous state of the Church. The treasury was empty. There was the greater reason then for the ecclesiastic's return to claim his tithes, and contribute to the necessities of the state.<sup>o</sup> The student, prosecuting his studies in England or elsewhere, was fineable.<sup>p</sup> Than this fact, perhaps, nothing gives a stronger idea of the disregard entertained of the Church. It was the more melancholy and fatal, as there was a strict prohibition against any person being promoted to a living from among the Irish. The old enactments, by which the appointment of Irish Archbishops and Bishops was prevented, had been confirmed by the 4th of Henry the Fifth.<sup>q</sup> A collation to a benefice by a Bishop or Prior led to a forfeiture of his goods. And such a collation, though confirmed by the governor, was null.

It might be hoped, that while the Bishops and Priests were such strangers to their vocation, that there would be some few spots of retreat, where dissipation may not enter. One may imagine, that the spirit of the world may not find its way undisguisedly into the cloister. But a patent given to Margery, Prioress of Graane, Co. Kildare, when perused, will alter such notions. The patent enabled her to sell as well clothes, as bread and

<sup>o</sup> An old seal being found and cancelled was sold in order to repair the windows of the Council Chamber, which were in a ruinous state.—*Leb. B.* iii.

<sup>p</sup> *Cox Passim.*

<sup>q</sup> *Harris's Hibernica.*

ale. How much the gold of the sanctuary was obscured!!<sup>r</sup> What occurred in 1421, as remarked by a Protestant historian, shows in its true light the spirit of the Anglo-Irish.<sup>s</sup> Setting aside a love of religion and fair play, there is a tie between those of the same profession, an "esprit de corps," which, in the absence of all sense of religion, animates one. Even that feeling was stifled in the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastic: John Gese, Bishop of Waterford, brings several charges against the Archbishop of Cashel. The latter, though an exemplary man, is accused of incontinence. This was done in order to gain more credit for the other charges. One who could bring a charge, which, if true, would involve such a serious violation of the canons—and this before a lay assembly—may well be suspected for forging other charges. The principal of these charges had been, that the Archbishop of Cashel was an enemy to the English; that he opposed their promotion; and encouraged his suffragans to do the same. Anxious as the parliament might be for his condemnation and degradation, yet it acquitted him. And surely those who kept his see vacant for two years after his death, could not have been averse from a sentence, which would throw his revenues into their hands.<sup>t</sup>

As a matter of course, those who had not the spirit of poverty, could ill brook the scanty revenues derived from their Sees. Accordingly, an effort was made by the Bishop of Cloyne to get the diocese of Cork united to his own. It did not succeed at this time. But nine

<sup>r</sup> See Archdall.

<sup>s</sup> Leland.

<sup>t</sup> Harris' Bishops.

years after, by a decree of Martin the fifth, they were united. In 1442, Connor and Down were united. The Archbishop of Armagh was opposed to the union. And though he promised his help to John, in bringing about the union, yet he summoned him on the one hand to appear before him on the Thursday after the Epiphany, to account for the contemplated union, and on the other side, William Stanley to show cause against the union. In discussing the propriety of the union, the strongest reason urged against it was, not that the people may be neglected, or be disposed to murmur, but that the hands of the Irish would be strengthened by such a change. Now, and afterwards, the Anglo-Irish were anxious to consolidate livings. It may be a puzzle to those, who wish to account for it on religious grounds. But it becomes very intelligible, if we conceive self-interest to be the moving spring in the actions of the Anglo-Irish colony. That it may not tempt any man of merit, whom the Pope may think fit to send to it, the prebend of Swords in 1431 was divided.<sup>a</sup>

As the century advanced, while the limits of the Anglo-Irish territory were contracted, those of the Irish Church proportionately were extended. In the very first years of this century, we find the people of Cork object to coming to Dublin, on account of the strength of the Irish. They further added that, whereas formerly the Irish were cooped in a narrow spot, now, with the exception of what was in the hands of a few families, they were possessed of all the lands. Black rent was paid for Munster and, if you except Dublin, for Leinster likewise.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Swain's Register.

<sup>v</sup> Leland, B. iii.

And yet, while he could not master a sod of ground, the English monarch claimed the right of presenting to vacant benefices. By the 4th of Henry the fifth, the appointment of an Archbishop or Bishop of the Irish nation was prohibited.\*

\* The object was to prevent Irish members from hiring Irish servants, who may betray the secrets of Parliament.

## CHAPTER XII.

IN addition to the dangers to the Church from the pressure from without, and the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline which characterized many of its ministers, it had to suffer, too, from the scandal of false teaching. This proceeded from the same spirit, which led Fitz-Ralph astray in the last century. It proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the mendicant orders. The writings of the Dean of Dublin were in themselves very objectionable. And even had they been less questionable, a strong prejudice entertained against him at Rome, would have rendered them open to suspicion. To put an end to the great schism in the universal Church about the choice of a Pope, the council of Constance met in 1417. At this council attended John Ragged, who gained a high reputation. He was bishop of Cork.\* The Archbishop of Armagh and Snell Bishop of Ossory were represented by a proctor, William Purcell. The election of Martin the fifth as Pope at the council may be said to have crushed the schism. In order to the

\* Robert Fitz Hugh presented himself at the Council for confirmation in the Archdiocese of Armagh. But for some reason not known to me, he was set aside.—Swain's Register.

The English deputies claimed precedence of the French, on the strength of the antiquity and glories of the Irish Church. Hib. Dom. Ussher.

union of the Greek to the Latin Church, the successors to Pope Martin found it necessary to call a council at Florence. The council was continued, or removed to Basle. Here in the absence of the Pope or his representative, some propositions, temerarious or disrespectful to the Holy See, were maintained by the Bishop of Basle.<sup>b</sup> To this schismatical Bishop, then, our Dean of Dublin, Norris adhered, and brought on himself the censures of the Church. His doctrine viewed by the most favourably disposed could not escape the most unequivocal condemnation. It may be summed up in seventeen propositions.—1° “As the walls of Jerusalem,” he said, “were destroyed by four armies, so the Church of God shall be destroyed by four mendicant orders. 2° As the chief tax-gatherer came to Jerusalem with fair words under a treacherous heart, so have the four said orders come into the Church with the like treachery, in order to destroy, to the utmost of their power, the Church of God. 3° As the same persons came to Jerusalem with a great crowd, to create disturbance, so there has been a rush of the four orders into the Church to disturb it. 4° As the Gabaonites came to Joshua with lies, so have the mendicant orders come into the Church. 5° There were held four councils, and in them many were condemned for divers heresies, but the mendicants were worse than such heretics. 6° The four mendicant orders were thieves, robbers, and robbers of the sanctuary. 7° The brothers of the mendicant orders are of the vilest character. 8° They are ravening wolves. 9° They are worse than the traitor Judas. 10° They are Antichrists, and directly against Christ. 11° They

<sup>b</sup> Amongst other propositions, one maintained that a general Council was superior to the Pope, and that he was fallible.



are disciples of Mahommed. 12° No man or woman of any parish can come to a friar, for the seeking of confession without leave of the parish priest or curate. Because the said friar may act, or profess to act according to that form of law, whose chapter begins with the word 'Lately,' &c.° 13° Whoever confesses to friars admitted according to the above form are obliged to repeat the self-same sins in confession to the parish curate. 14° I firmly believe, that there is not a worthy man, among the mendicant orders. 15° I doubt if the friars be priests, or have received the priestly character. 16° I would be unwilling to abide by any decision, even from the Pope, unless from a general council. 17° No priest, regular or secular, ought at all to beg."<sup>d</sup>

Their extravagance rendered these propositions harmless. They were not rendered specious by subtlety of reasoning. They could have come only from one of a distempered brain. In the year 1440, they were condemned, and again in the same year, by Eugene the fourth, who recounts the errors word for word. Nor was this the full measure of Norris' scandal. He adhered to the schismatical Bishops of Basle; and in 1448 brought on himself from Pope Nicholas Vth, the sentence of the heaviest excommunication.\* Far different, it must be confessed, from the foolish and mischievous teachings of Norris were the decrees of the provincial councils in Armagh. And if promulgated by persons who enjoyed the confidence of the people, would have done great good. They laid down a rule of conduct for the priest and people. In the middle of the

° Clementine Constitutions in reference to burial.—III. Book.

<sup>d</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 58.

\* Swain's Register—Harris' Bishops.

fifteenth century, a provincial council held by the Primate subjected to deprivation of benefice the cleric, who nourished either long hair, or an upper beard.<sup>f</sup> And some years before that time, a provincial council called by Archbishop Colton, decreed that the Bishop should confer holy orders three times each year; and that he should, if possible, administer the sacrament of confirmation yearly in every district: then too some changes were made relative to the administration of the sacrament of marriage.

Provided the banns were duly proclaimed, leave was given for the solemnization of marriage on any day, except from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday.<sup>g</sup> The custom up to that time had been, not to celebrate marriages on some days of the week. So great had been the veneration for St. Bridget, that the people treated her feast as a solemn festival. However, being the vigil of the festival of the Purification of the B. V. Mary, there was an obligation of abstinence. The council then allowed persons, in order to add to the solemnity of St. Bridget's festival, and for the good of the poor, to eat daintily and to be dispensed from the law of abstinence. This indulgence, however, conditioned that the feast of St. Bridget should not fall on a Wednesday, on a Friday,

<sup>f</sup> Octavian's Register. In 1462, a dispensation was granted to Malachy Brady and one Denis (provided they were *only* in tonsure, a preparatory step to holy orders,) to nourish their hair, and at the same time to hold a benefice. This clearly proves, that persons *not* in holy orders were possessed of benefices. The two above mentioned persons also were absolved by the Primate from any excommunication incurred by nourishing the hair or glib in violation of the Canons.—Prene's Register, vol. ii. p. 173.

<sup>g</sup> Low Sunday, was the Sunday after Easter.

or on a Saturday. Otherwise there was no exemption from the law of abstinence. The council felt the more inclined to grant the indulgence, because it extended to other parts of Ireland. From the conditions made, we can see that three days in the week were, at this time, days of abstinence. The regularity and solemnity of the sacred offices were consulted for. Persons were ordered to abstain from servile work on Good Friday ; to go to the chapel ; and to attend the divine offices. Orders were issued that, outside Lent, there should be a commemoration of St. Patrick every week, if it were consistent with the course of offices ; that the festival of St. Bridget should be celebrated as a double, in whose honor a weekly commemoration was recommended ; that the offices of SS. Columba, Feghin and Ronan should be celebrated as solemn festivals and with nine lessons ; that Urban should be recognized as the legitimate Pope ; and that any of the suffragan Bishops, who did not enforce an excommunication incurred by a violation of the faith, ecclesiastical immunity, or of enormous crimes, fell himself into the same censure. However, of course, the right of appeal remained. The demand of tribute under any name from ecclesiastics, or their tenants, was strictly prohibited. Nor did the council forget, in deference to Anglo-Irish prejudices, to decree punishments against harpers, and poets, and beggars.<sup>b</sup>

There was one curious canon, however, which proves as well with what force and tenacity an evil custom keeps its ground, as the truth of the saying from the

<sup>b</sup> Whoever did not provide himself with a copy of the council's decrees was fined three shillings.—Swayn's Register, vol. i.

great Bossuet, "That there is no error, which was not, in some way, founded on a misunderstood truth."<sup>1</sup> One meets with a superstitious belief and practice, the former of which at least has kept its ground after five hundred years.<sup>2</sup> The Church raised its voice against it. Its ministers met and condemned the opinion, which maintained it to be otherwise than unlawful and perverse, to hunt a hare on Good Friday, with the conviction, that its blood was an efficacious cure of any disease.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the sentence of excommunication was denounced against any one, of whatsoever condition, who, on that day, hunted especially a hare. As though before its condemnation by the Church, an abuse or superstitious practice had no existence, writers in hostility to Catholic truth are too unsparing of their censure of that church for her condemnatory decrees.<sup>m</sup> If the Church does not deem it prudent publicly to raise her voice against abuses, the fiercest invectives are poured out against it. Whether it pipes or whether it dances, there is no escape from blame. But how problematical soever to the mind of Protestants, the existence of the abuse on hare-hunting may be in the absence of legislation on it, I believe, the same cannot be said by the boldest, in reference to what followed in the canons.

<sup>1</sup> The saying appears to have been borrowed from St. Augustine, "*Nulla falsa doctrina est quæ non aliqua vera intermisceat.*" Hom. Lib. II. Quæst. Ev. E. 40.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting volume may be produced, by showing how many errors in religion arose from misapplication of the sacred text; how many errors in human sciences took their rise from ill understood or wrongly applied principles; and how most mistakes in point of fact had their being in mere misrepresentation or exaggeration.

<sup>1</sup> When young I heard the practice spoken of amongst the ignorant.

<sup>m</sup> See Hallam (Middle Ages,) and others.

Hurling became an object of legislation. And, though Bishops never legislated on it, that hurling would still be in use, can scarcely be a matter of doubt. This canon, then, went on to say, that because of an illicit sport, called a "goal," or hurling, on Easter Monday and Tuesday, much quarrelling and murders took place : We forbid any person to hurl, on these days especially, or in Easter week, under pain of excommunication.<sup>a</sup>

At this time, too, were witnessed practices, which, if not then, afterwards ran into great abuses. It became the duty of the Church in the seventeenth century, and in the nineteenth century, to denounce them in the strongest language.<sup>o</sup> Wakes became often in Ireland scenes of drunkenness, and indecency, and obscenity.

John Blake, among many charitable donations, in 1420, left for his burial forty shillings, and a pipe of wine. And in 1440, Richard Donagh, who wished to be buried in Dublin, directed by his last will, that at his wake bread and ale be given to the poor.<sup>p</sup>

But though the decrees promulgated by the Anglo-Irish Church were marked sometimes by wisdom, yet on the whole, its vitality was of that character which a worldly spirit imparts. That church was part and parcel of a thoroughly hostile camp in an enemy's country. If the clergy met, it was generally for purposes of earthly attack or defence ; for levying forces or contributions, rather than for enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, and the reformation of the people. John

<sup>a</sup> Swayn's Register.

<sup>o</sup> See appendices to O'Renehan's Collections, by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy.

<sup>p</sup> *Iar Connaught*, p. 180. *Hardiman's Miscellany of I.A.S.* vol. i. p. 111.

Swayn, Archbishop of Armagh, gave spiritual indulgences to any one who would rescue Nicholas Chamberlain.<sup>a</sup> The Anglo-Irish Church, without any gain to faith or sound discipline, appeared too prone to shock the prejudices and the customs of the old Irish. And even when there had been question of righting abuses, that Church, while lynx-eyed to those among the Irish, was blind to those of its own people. In the year 1441, O'Donnell, prince of Tyrconnell, for seizing the vacant see of Raphoe, was excommunicated by the Primate of Armagh. Through the latter also a war from O'Neil was precipitated on him. Of course, it was well that those endowments made to the Church for charitable purposes should have been applied to their destined uses. But it should be borne in mind, that English monarchs never nominated, till the Reformation, to the ancient see of Raphoe.<sup>r</sup> On the voice of the dynast of Tyrconnell, subject to the approval of the Bishop, an appointment to the see depended. If the primate then showed the same firmness and zeal in dealing with the English monarch, in the management of the revenues of vacant sees—which he or his ancestors never endowed—as he did against the native princes, the Irish Church would have fared better. What, above all, rendered the Anglo-Irish Church powerless for good, was its dependance on the English Government. The advice of that Church to the natives was received with suspicion; its threats were received with defiance. So far were the natives from receiving the law from the

<sup>a</sup> Swayn's Register.

<sup>r</sup> Sir John Davis—Hist. Relat.

Anglo-Irish Church, that they dictated terms to it—in fact, they levied on it “Black-mail.”\*

Hence on the 18th of June, 1458, an agreement was entered into, between the Primate on one hand, and Odo O’Neil on the other. The latter pledged himself to be subject to the Primate; not to molest him or any of his officials in their visitations, or any person on his way to the Primate in Armagh; to execute the commands of the Primate; to be accountable for the revenues due of the tenants of the Church, though even his own cousins, sons, or brothers were in question; not to visit with fine or arrest concubinaries,<sup>†</sup> since their correction was claimed by the Primate; and to make good any injury done to the Primate. This, after all, was only what an obedient child of the Church had a right to do. But for these services, the Primate undertook to give O’Neil an equivalent. He submitted to pay to him annually two dozen of English common cloth, on the feast of St. John Baptist, three measures of fine cloth,<sup>‡</sup> and a dozen of common cloth. Besides,

\* We learn that, some time before this, Primate Colton during a visitation, on arriving with his retinue, at the village of Ardstraw, called before him, the Vicar and Erenach of the place, and gave his orders to them to make a speedy provision for his men and horses. Besides he enjoined to have a sufficient watch placed for the protection of his person and goods. They attended to his orders, and procured a supply of bread, butter, milk, meat, straw and corn. This was done at the expense of the Residents and Erenach. And a diligent watch was kept through the several parts of the village, especially round the house of the Archbishop.—Primate Colton’s visitation.

† *Personas focarias.*

‡ I am at a loss, whether “*virgata*” meant a yard, I therefore call it a measure.

at every Christmas, a dozen of common cloth was promised.\* Nor was it merely, with the great Lords the Primate was brought to make terms. To enjoy a peaceful reign he had to treat with the mass of his subjects. In the year 1444, a stipulation between both bargained, that he would defend his subjects, English and Irish, to the utmost of his power ; that on the death of a native, who left no surviving relative, by father or mother, his lands should go not to the Church, but to the nearest and most useful neighbour to the deceased in Armagh. To this agreement, however, a condition was appended—that the neighbour should have been recommended by the citizens. Furthermore, the Primate promised, that on the death of any “native,” his relative by father or mother, among the Irish, and not a cleric or laic among the English, shall receive a grant of the lands of the deceased. All the responsibilities of the deceased, however, devolved on his successor in the property.”

While the Anglo-Irish Church showed little respect for the prejudices and less for the interest of the Irish, and appeared so much the creature of the state that its best lessons were disregarded, the Irish Church presents a rather favorable contrast. Not that perfection may be claimed for it. As a matter of course, it must have been affected by the current of events. They were of a stirring distracting nature—not calculated to leave the church at peace. They were very calculated to unfit it for working out its mission. Hence, occasionally, the Irish ecclesiastic figured in the bloodiest

\* Prene's Register, vol. i. p. 24.

” Prene's, vol. i. p. 12.



affray. The annals for 1444, after stating that there had been a great controversy, on, or about Easter, proceed to describe how Bishop M'Loghlan could not receive advice; but without a night's delay marched a part of his sept against another branch of the same sept. The result was the defeat and death of the Bishop, and of his two brothers.\* But, on the whole, it is a great relief to find, that the Irish ecclesiastics, much as they sympathised with, and moderately helped on every rational movement for independence, did not, like to the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, take a leading part in murderous onslaughts. And while the conduct of the Irish ecclesiastics contrasted favorably with that of the Anglo-Irish, the parallel holds good with regard to the laics. In vain do we look for that undying hatred that war to the death, which we find the Anglo-Irish avowing. There was nothing to prevent the natives from sweeping into the sea the comparatively few strangers from the four counties' occupied by them. Very far am I from saying, that their forbearance was the result of moderation. It was the result of selfish policy, which made one forget the national cause. The latter was forgotten, if their own interests were secured. Sometimes, whenever especially there was danger of extirpation to the whole sept, or to the Irish language, a temporary union sprung up.† But all this shows, that there had been no such burning hatred as to prompt to a war of extermination. The recovery of their former possessions by the Irish, arose in a great

\* Dudley M'Firbis.

† Sir John Davis.

‡ Leland. B. 3.

measure, as well from the drain on the people and Lords to the French wars, as from the wars of the Roses. And even under the excitement of war and in the flush of victory, the religious susceptibilities of the Irish were unmistakeable. They met the foe near the abbey of Leix, and killed several men of note. Two hundred men, who could not save themselves by their valor or flight, found refuge under the shadow of the monastery of Leix.<sup>a</sup>

Such acts of moderation were, undoubtedly, great triumphs of religion. And, indeed, they will appear such, if we consider the great temptation to the Irish to retaliate; that they were treated as aliens in their own land; that they were denied the benefit of English law; that in fine, in this very century, they were refused leave to emigrate.<sup>b</sup> Beyond question, a spirit of self-denial in a highly spiritual sense strongly marked the Irish character. Impelled by a thoroughly religious spirit, they sought, through much fatigue and danger, the most famous places of pilgrimage. The pastor led the way. The Bishop laid aside the crozier, and the prince his pomp, and the people in crowds followed. O'Hedigan, Bishop of Elphin, with many more clergymen went to Rome, and there in 1444 died.<sup>c</sup> And, as though they had not suffered much at home from an implacable foe to their race and name for centuries, many, in the following year, went on a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella. Tomultuach O'Connor, king of Moylurg went, and Margaret the daughter of O'Carroll, and M'Gheoghan; the prince of Kinel Fiacha

<sup>a</sup> Marlborough.

<sup>b</sup> Leland. B. 3. ch. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.

M'Neill, and O'Driscoll Oge, and many more. The Irish founded religious houses, and then peopled them. The poor found food and comfort there, of which the high-born were the dispensers. In 1421, O'Connor took the monastic habit; and in the following year, O'Donnell Lord of Tyrconnell assumed the friars' cowl.<sup>d</sup> In 1439, O'Hara, Lord of Sligo, renouncing the Lordship entered religion.<sup>e</sup> In 1435, M'Guire Lord of Fermanagh, taking orders left the world for the love of God.<sup>f</sup> In 1447, Finola daughter of O'Connor Faly, the most illustrious, beautiful, woman of her time in the words of the annalist, illustrious as she was, entered the convent of Kilachry. What a soothing influence must not their example have shed on society! they were produced in every part of this country. In vain do we look for such instances of a devotional penitential spirit all the Pale over.

A decision of John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, in reference to the Colidæi, or Culdees, will form an episode in this chapter. Large treatises have been written on the name and offices of Culdee.<sup>g</sup> But their only effect

<sup>d</sup> Annals of Duaid M'Firbis, Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Annals of the Four Masters, by J. O'D.

<sup>g</sup> Some derive the word from the black cowl pretended to have been worn, called in Irish "Cúl dub." Hence Culdee. Others with great probability bring it from "Ceile De," i.e. who serves God.—Annals of the Four Masters, ad. an. 1212.—Nicholson's Historical Library.

In England, the Culdees received a title from the place where they officiated. For instance, they were called "Clergymen of St. Paul's, York."—*Monasticon Anglican*, vol. ii. p. 363. Their being so designated in England, and called Culdees in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, coupled with the fact, that the Popes in alluding to them, say that

has been to perplex a very plain matter. The word is mentioned for the first time, in our annals, about the beginning of the ninth century. Whether derived from the Latin, or more probably from the Irish, all agree in making the "Culdee" signify a man devoted to God. Much doubt as has been raised about the origin of the name, still more has been expressed in reference to the nature of his office. But to any sober enquirer after truth, there need not be a shadow of doubt that the Culdees were secular canons, who served as chapters to cathedrals. Owing to the attachment of the Irish to their old customs and religious orders, the latter were not replaced at once by the regular canons. Even down to the seventeenth century the Culdees continued in the Church of Armagh. For this we had, up to the present, to rely on the authority of Usher; but in looking into the antiphonary of Armagh, his testimony is found corroborated by the clearest evidence.<sup>b</sup> Monks, or even unmarried men leading a religious life, may have been called "Colidæi," in some places; but surely in Ireland generally, the Culdees, properly so called, were secular canons.<sup>1</sup> Skill in music, as well as a taste and

they are vulgarly called "Culdees," point as a matter of certainty, to an Irish origin.—See Registries of Armagh, Swayn's.

<sup>b</sup> One M'Gilla, a name very closely connected with the Priesthood, is frequently mentioned as belonging to the Colidæi.—1596.—Antiphonary of Armagh.

<sup>1</sup> Hector Boetius says that, up to his time, all Priests were called Culdees, Lib. 6, but that really and originally, only monks were so called. However, Dempster (apparatus to History of Scotland,) maintains that they were neither monks nor secular Canons, but Canons regular. A far higher authority than either, Du Cange, says, and he is borne out by an irresistible mass of evidence, that the Culdees were secular Canons; they served the Cathedral Churches; had the privilege of electing a Bishop.

fitness for conducting the divine offices, were the distinguishing qualifications required in a Culdee.\* But a question arose, whether the office of a Culdee constituted a benefice, and so excluded another benefice. The Archbishop of Armagh decided, that the office did not involve a care of souls, and consequently did not preclude the possession of a benefice. However for the enjoyment of a benefice, residence in Armagh was required. The first place at table and at the divine offices was assigned to the prior of the Colidæi.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of precaution, not that it was necessary, the Primate issued a dispensation for holding at the same time, the office of Culdee and a benefice. In 1447, another decision was given. In confirmation of a former one, it decided that the office of Culdee did not imply a cure of souls.

But in no other sense, were they independent of Bishops.—Du Cange sub voce. In the year 1297, they made a stand in Scotland for their privilege of electing a Bishop. They appealed to Rome, were defeated; and on the election of a new Bishop were totally deprived of their privileges.—Usher's Antiquities. The mystery around the Culdees was, for long, caused by those, who wished to perplex their origin. Because of the supposed independence of episcopal authority on the part of the Culdees, an unmerited importance and charm had been flung around them by those of a presbyterian bias.

\* The Prior of the Colidæi was Canon chorister at Clogher.—Four Masters, ad. an. 1479. Gilchreest M'Edigan, vicar of St. Patrick's, Elphin, and one of the choir, died.—Dudley Firbis quoted in Annals of the Four Masters, ad. an. 1463.

<sup>1</sup> Ware's Annals, p. 75.

## CHAPTER XIII.

UP to this time, the Anglo-Irish, in providing the people with ministers of religion pursued a most narrow policy. Instead of throwing open the doors of the sanctuary to the most worthy from every quarter, it jealously closed them even against the natives. By denying the validity of the Pope's appointment, even to a benefice, the Anglo-Irish showed a schismatical tendency. And as if the circle, from which the ecclesiastics were drawn, had not been sufficiently narrow, it was made still narrower. An enactment ordained that persons should remain in the same social position, in which their fathers were ; and that the son of a labourer could not aspire to the dignity of the Priesthood. On a church confined to three or four counties,<sup>a</sup> such an enactment must have told with a tremendous effect. It was the more deplorable, as even already the few churches were badly provided with priests. So anxious were the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics to live in England, that the legislature found it necessary to insist on their return to Ireland. Their absence from it was visited with mulcts.<sup>b</sup> Half the revenues of absent beneficiaries went to the repair and supply of churches ; the other

<sup>a</sup> Cox. Vol. I. Ware, p. 75. Leland, B. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Liber Munerum. Pryne's Collection.

half to the expenses of war. So rigorously was the fine exacted, that the few wielding the powers of government in Ireland denied even to the king the privilege of dispensing from it.<sup>c</sup> In such a dearth of ministers, the Anglo-Irish not only shut the sanctuary against the natives, and virtually against the worthiest of the Pale ; but threw all opposition in the way of an appointment by "Provision." The statutes against provisors were put in execution ; a consecration in violation of such statutes was visited with a fine of £20, and treble damages.<sup>d</sup> Such legislation, if continued, must have proved destructive to the Irish Church. And while it did continue, it did not fail producing the most disastrous results. Such a policy had been tried in England. The Church became a close borough. There was no accession of new strength—no infusion of fresh life from without. Hence the Commons, at the close of the fourteenth century, complained of decline in the universities.<sup>e</sup> All healthy competition being set aside, laziness and ignorance resulted. On the Anglo-Irish Church, resting on a still narrower basis, with what tremendous effect must not statutes of Provisors have told ! Breeding in and in, transformed into an hereditary Priesthood—into a "caste"—the Church promised to be only an eye-sore, a scandal to the Church of God.

But this was not all. In 1467, an act was passed, in which the Bishops, especially the Bishop of Meath, took a leading part. The reader must bear in mind, that for some time past, during their exile at Avignon

<sup>c</sup> Liber Munerum, quoting Swayn's Register. In anno, 1458.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ad. an. 1454.

<sup>e</sup> Commons' Journal.—Lingard, Vol. III. Reign of Richard II.

and the schism for forty years, and by reason of their crusades against infidel princes, the Popes found themselves in embarrassment. To extricate them from it, the custom of giving first-fruits to the Pope on promotion to a living was introduced. However, in 1467, to pay the smallest coin for receiving a bull ; or, according to others, to receive a bull at all, was made treasonable. But while the Anglo-Irish did what was calculated to alienate the affections of the holy see by their suicidal acts, the Pope did not forget them. He encouraged them, and helped them to the preservation of religion and learning. He suggested the idea of an university ; dwelt on the ignorance of the people, on the fewness of the scholars ; in a word, on the smallness of the demand, and on the large supply. In doing so, he acted on the suggestion of those very mendicant friars, whom there was an effort to crush a few years before in the city of Dublin. In furtherance of the project, the Pope issued a diploma.<sup>f</sup> This indeed was repaying gratitude with additional kindness. For, only two years before then, Dr. Marcellus from Rome was forbidden to enter our country. His entrance was made felony. The Prior of Kilmainham, indeed, was allowed to receive him for three months. But to entertain him any longer, on the part of the prior, or to receive him at all on the part of any other, was felonious.<sup>g</sup> Now, the Anglo-Irish could wish to have the Pope forgotten, not communicated with ; by and by, as it suited their purpose, they acknowledged him to be Lord of Ireland. They met in 1467. Tiploft was governor. They

<sup>f</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 194, ad. an. 1473.

<sup>g</sup> See Archdall.



reiterate that, on the grant from the Pope of Ireland for a consideration, its possession by them depended. In virtue of that grant, then, they decree, that all Archbishops and Bishops are obliged to hurl excommunication against the disobedient; and that, by a neglect of such an obligation, they were fineable £100.<sup>b</sup> They invoked the protection of the Pope, while at the same time they withheld that respect, which belonged to him as their liege lord, and common father of the faithful. For their abject slavery to the state, and abandonment of duty, the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics got a valuable consideration. As well as this world could, it repaid them. They were pensioned. They wielded full power over the temporal and spiritual estate. If the Pope could control them, as ecclesiastics; they, as civil functionaries, as the depositaries of royal power, may defy him. Hence the jealousy with which they guarded the management of benefices.

In 1433, Henry V. writes to the Archbishop of Dublin, and allows to him, as to his predecessors, twenty pounds for the management of the kingdom. To make the payment sure, he makes over on him the manors of Tassagard and of Ballechire.<sup>c</sup> In 1480 a law was made, by which the administration of justice was made to depend on the Archbishops of Armagh, of Dublin; and the Bishops of Meath, Kildare; and on the temporal lords. And all law to the contrary notwithstanding, the Archbishop of Dublin was empowered to

<sup>b</sup> Leland, B. iii. ch. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Old Rymer. *Liber Munerum*. The King acknowledges himself in debt for two and a half years' salary to the Archbishop; and required only £5 rent, till the Archbishop indemnified himself.

present to all vacant benefices.<sup>k</sup> Then too, the Prior of Kilmainham, whose possessions were extensive, and whose influence was unbounded, and worth buying, was exempted from many burdens. Notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, he was authorised to receive grants, and exempted from subsidies. The Prior of All Saints was appointed superintendent over all the conventual lands in the country.<sup>l</sup> Seeing the ecclesiastical functions confined to a few individuals—and these thoroughly secularized by their connexion with the state—one would be surprised if the vineyard of the Lord presented any but an unfair appearance. In 1475, at the prayer of Richard, Abbot of St. Thomas, and James Aylmer, an act was passed by which six marks were to be given to James Maddock. He was studying at the University of Oxford, and bore himself as Doctor of Divinity. The reason assigned for his encouragement was, that there were few able to teach and preach the Word of God.<sup>m</sup> Having sown thorns and thistles, the Anglo-Irish could not expect to reap figs.

In 1449, on the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, the crozier was seized, and pledged for five marks by John Strigathen to a tailor named White. And though the next Archbishop, Tregury, decreed that the prior of Christ's Church, in whose custody it should be kept, ought to release it, still till released by Archbishop Alan, it continued for nearly eighty years in pledge.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Leland, B. iii. ch. 3.

<sup>l</sup> See Archdall.

<sup>m</sup> Original Rolls, quoted in Hardiman's Statutes of Kilkenny, p. 129.

<sup>n</sup> "I, the seventh John, at my own expense paid 100 ounces of silver for cross and crozier."—Black Book.

The ecclesiastics, descending from their high estate to the passions of men, received the treatment of worldlings. Disrespect and even violence were offered to the Archbishop of Dublin. Pope Pius II. issued excommunication in 1462, against those, who laid violent hands on the Archbishop and committed him to prison. The guilty parties were of some note. Geoffrey Harold, with his two sons Thomas and Edmund, Patrick Byrne, Thady Shireff, Thomas Beccagh, and Robert Russell were by name excommunicated.<sup>o</sup> And till the guilty party came to Rome with letters of recommendation from the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ossory, their absolution was reserved to the Pope. The ecclesiastics were careless in their religious exercises, and the people lost all respect for them. Thomas Butler knight, afterwards Lord of Louth, falsely accused Father John Stackbull of high treason. He did so, from the most selfish purposes. Twelve men on their oath found for the priest. But the irreligion of Louth was not checked. He sent his servants to rob the priest of his property. Besides, they plucked out, as they thought, his tongue and eyes.<sup>p</sup> As an unheard of thing, it is mentioned that at this time there were no vespers in St. Patrick's Church, even on Patrick's day ; and that divine service was day after day discontinued. During the reign of Edward the fourth, the good people had to complain that no Archbishop, Bishop, parson nor prior, high or low, except the poor begging friars, was found to preach and heal the disorders of the land.<sup>q</sup> The laity were not

<sup>o</sup> Black Book.

<sup>p</sup> He was cured by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary—Rolls of Parliament, quoted in Hardiman's Statutes of Kilkenny, p. 25.

<sup>q</sup> State papers (vol. iii.) and original rolls.

generous in their contributions to those ministers of religion, whom they foresaw would expend them either on secular pursuits, or on antinational crusades. At all events, after two years, the Archbishop of Armagh could not release his bulls for consecration.<sup>†</sup> In 1482, Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, was applied to for the debt contracted by his predecessor. He objected to pay. However, the decision of the Pope was against him. A claim was given on the mensal lands. The parties who advanced the money were Leonardi de Vernaciis, Alexander de Bardis, John Solomei, Francis Pazzi, Florentines, and Laurence Matthei, a Roman. Again in 1483, the successor of Sixtus wrote, and subjected the See of Armagh to the payment of the debt contracted by its former incumbent. However on the representation of the poverty of the See by the Bishop of Meath, the Pontiff modified the sentence. Half of the sum, which amounted to 11,000 Florins, was to be paid in eighteen months ; and the other half within the same time.<sup>‡</sup>

As a matter of course, we may expect unseemly disputes among the ecclesiastics themselves. Accordingly the Archbishop of Dublin is found in antagonism with the abbot of St. Thomas. There were two churches attached to the monastery of St. Thomas. On his visitation, the Archbishop insisted on proxy money from these. It was refused by John Walter and Richard Foster. However, those, who had not disinterestedness enough to avoid provoking a quarrel, showed prudence in referring its decision to the Bishop of Meath. The arbitration was acceptable to both parties.

<sup>†</sup> Edmundus, quia literas apostolicas super provisum, ex manibus mercatorum, quibus eas consignavi nunquam Redemit.—Registers of Armagh.

<sup>‡</sup> Register of Octavian, vol. ii.

But while the heart of the Pale exhibited such unseemly contention, the southern part of the nation afforded a more edifying spectacle. The Bishops met, and appeared to consult only for religion and morality. Some of the regulations made at the synod held in Limerick in 1453, afford a curious picture of the times. The synod opened after the feast "ad Vincula"<sup>1</sup> on Monday. The Bishops admitted the necessity of looking to the proper celebration of the divine offices on Sundays, and on holydays. They agreed, that the offices should be celebrated in the Church on Sunday, and, if possible, on every day. Before mass and the offices on Sunday, and during the week, the bell was to be sounded three times. The excommunicated and the interdicted were excluded. Failing the ringing of the bell, fifty pence were to be paid by the exorcist and the curates to the Bishop, or to his official. Attendance at mass, and cessation of servile work on Sunday, were enjoined under pain of excommunication. And to consult for all outward decorum, men and women, even as wives, were forbidden to the same stall together. The seventh canon, among other things, forbade any person to remain more than a day and a night with ecclesiastics. No person should visit them on a Saturday evening, or a Sunday; lest there may be an interference with the Divine Service. The ninth canon exempted all ecclesiastics, and their servants, from secular exactions.<sup>2</sup> Those who made exactions were excommunicated.—Immunity to the person and property of ecclesiastics was established. They may not be dragged before

<sup>1</sup> The feast fell on the first of August.

<sup>2</sup> The exactions were called 'conjurens,' 'buonnguay.' Our Irish dictionaries or Latin Glossaries do not give the words.

the secular tribunals. The fourteenth canon decreed, that of all the goods got from the deceased, whether through a last will or funeral, by the mendicant orders, one-fourth should be given to the parochial church ; and that oblations should not be given to the brothers, before a division of the funeral perquisites take place. Transgressors of this decree incurred sentence of excommunication. And after legislating against the falling of church property into the hands of laics, the twenty-first canon ordained, that the statutes should be read to the people four times a year : on the Sunday before Christmas, on Easter, on Pentecost, at Michaelmas. For neglect in this particular, Curates were fined a noble<sup>\*</sup> at each delinquency ; the Ordinaries were fined thirty shillings ; and the Officials were fined twenty shillings. The fines of the Ordinaries went to the building of churches through the hands of the metropolitan. Thirty-first canon ordained, that places of refuge give shelter not to those, who live in them ; but to those, who in necessity fly to them.<sup>w</sup> The thirtieth canon said, that as contentions arose between ecclesiastics and brothers of the third order of St. Francis, that the latter do not enjoy the privilege of the provision included in the chapter, "Dudum," &c. on burials, and that the same judgment is to be pronounced on the goods of such tertiaries who

\* In 1460, the English noble was 8s. 6d. The 38th of Henry VI. ordered, that it should pass in Ireland ; that the ducate should be 4s. 2d. the crown 3s. 2d., the bourgoin noble 6s. 8d. In 16th of Edward IV. an act was passed to fix the value of coins. The English gold royal was to pass in Ireland at 13s. 4d. the angel at 8s. 4d. the old gold noble at 12s.—Harris' Antiquities. p. 211.

<sup>w</sup> No protection was given to a crime already proven against one.

die, as on those of simple laics.<sup>a</sup> The thirty-eighth decreed, that a heriot from poor people living on ecclesiastical lands, be paid to the Bishop of the place; and that there be an equal division of the money<sup>7</sup> between the Rector and Vicar; and that the secular lords may have the cattle of the poor deceased on their lands. The seventy-seventh canon prescribes a clerical dress. A becoming coat and cap, under a fine of a noble and the loss of the unclerical dress worn, were ordered.<sup>a</sup> By the seventy-eighth canon, agreeable to the old custom in the province of Cashel, the best ring, cup, and chair, as heriots, were determined to be the right of the Bishops. The hundred and twentieth canon declared, that if the chapter and clergy of Waterford refused to give, in pursuance of a general usage through the other dioceses, annuities or first fruits to the Bishop, censures should be employed to make them conform.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Though Wilkins gives *pueris*, I have ventured to correct it into *puris*.—Black Book of Limerick.

<sup>7</sup> Agreeably to Du Cange, vol. ii. (Ed. 1733,) *sub voce*, I have translated "*Cunagium*," money. The whole passage is somewhat obscure. "*Heriotum pauperum laicorum, in ecclesia defunctum, persolvere debere ordinariis locorum, et æqualem divisionem emolumentorum viz cunageorum, et hujusmodi faciendum inter rectorem et vicarium, ac dominum temporalem retine (sic) pasturæ animalium pauperum inibi degentum.*" The latter part obscurely and wrongly worded, I have attempted to supply and correct in the text. Heriot was what the lord received at the death of the tenant. It may be money, a horse, or any other article.—See Selden and Chapter vii. In the present instance there was question of the ecclesiastical slaves, or "*betaghs*."

<sup>a</sup> "*Gascomarcon*" is not given in our Irish dictionaries, nor in Du Cange's Glossary—I suppose it to be a "*soutane*."

<sup>a</sup> For the canons in full, see Wilkins' Councils, vol. iii. p. 565 et seq.

But among the many curious canons framed at the Limerick synod, for the advancement of God's glory, and the decency of religious worship, not the least important was the one touching sacred music. The taste for music displayed by the Irish in Pagan times was not banished, or discouraged by the appearance of Christianity. On the contrary.—As the bard, who struck with skill his many-stringed harp in festive halls, was placed near the princes of royal birth, so too did the fathers in the Irish church, deem a knowledge of sacred music, a recommendation to eminence among them. Hence, Gerald Barry, who found fault with almost every thing else, paid the highest compliment to the musical taste of the Irish. “The measure was not slow or dull, as with the neighbouring nations, but lively and sweet. The fingers passed over the strings with the greatest rapidity; while, at the same time, to a wonder, they observed a musical proportion. Amid a labyrinth of shakes and intricate sounds, not a note was lost. From different and apparently discordant sounds, were educed time and harmony.”<sup>b</sup> It is Gerald Barry who speaks and adds, “that Bishops may have been seen, harps in hand like the Psalmist, striking them in their journies through the country” to the praises of God. In the sixteenth century the Irish were pronounced fond, and masters of music. Brilliancy and rapidity of execution combined with wondrous accuracy excited the admir-

<sup>b</sup> Topographia. Dist. iii. cap. xi.—From the words of Cambrensis one would feel tempted to believe that counterpoint and harmony were known to the Irish of his day. Such an idea, however, must be rejected. To Palestrina, such a revolution is due. Even in the sixteenth century, only the lozenge and square notes were known.—Cowan's History of Music. p. 189.—O'Renchan's History of Music.



ation even of foreigners.<sup>c</sup> It is no subject for marvel then, that the Bishops assembled at Limerick decreed that, saving the privileges of the Apostolic See, in cities and towns, where singing prevailed, and a choir was established, that no persons unacquainted with sacred psalmsody should be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity. If I mistake not, instrumental music was carried to greater perfection, at least outside the Pale, than vocal music. But at what precise time instrumental music, especially the organ, was pressed into the service of the Church, I am at a loss to determine.<sup>d</sup> The use of the organ was very common in the Irish church during the fifteenth century. Michael Tregury, Archbishop of Dublin, bequeathed his pair of organs to St. Patrick's. And when the Earl of Kildare was absolved from excommunication incurred by participation in the rebellion of Simnel Lambert, the Archbishop chaunted the "Te Deum," and the choir, with the organ, sung it up solemnly. The proficiency of the Irish in vocal was not equal to the perfection, which they attained in especially the stringed, instrumental music.

<sup>c</sup> Polydore Virgil.—Anglic. Hist. lib. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Strange, that Bingham, (B. viii. ch. viii.) de originibus ecclesiasticis, says that organs were not known, till the middle of the thirteenth century. Organs on the present principle were known during the first half of the ninth century ; and steam organs were known a century before that time.—Digby Mores Catholici, vol. i. p. 602.

<sup>e</sup> "In battle," says Clyn ad. an. 1319, "fell O'Carroll, the famous tympanist and harper, so pre-eminent that he was a phoenix in his art ; and with him fell about twenty tympanists, who were his scholars. He was called 'Caech,' because his eyes were not straight, but squinted ; and if he were not the first inventor of Chord Music, yet of all his predecessors and contemporaries, he was the corrector, the teacher, and the director." Such entries are quite frequent through the Annals.

St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, says that there had been no regular ecclesiastical chaunt, before the time of St. Malachy, in Ireland. That may be very true, in regard to Down or Connor, and even Armagh. For, by the invasion of the Northmen, serious interruption was given, not only to the accessories, but to the essentials of divine worship. But it would be rash to infer from the words of St. Bernard, that throughout all Ireland ecclesiastical chaunts, even in an irregular manner, had been unknown. The strains in the Antiphonary of Bangor, and other repositories of Irish Church music, must have floated in sacred airs down the stream of time.<sup>f</sup> Of course the Church music introduced by St. Patrick was not the Gregorian. And to what extent that, such as it was, might have been modified by the genius of the old Pagan Irish strains, in the course of time, it is absolutely impossible now to determine.<sup>g</sup> In the fifteenth century, the Irish were accused, by the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, of a neglect of the notes in the sacred offices.<sup>h</sup> Whether it was that the value of the note was not given by the Irish chorister, or that the musical notation was altogether different from that of the Anglo-Irish, I am not prepared to say. At all events, the music of the latter, as indeed all their ceremonies, breathed the spirit of the Roman Antiphonary and ritual. There is, indeed, some accidental difference between the Roman Antiphonary and the Antiphonary

<sup>f</sup> Though it was thought, that the prayers of the Antiphonary were not set to music, yet Dr. Todd kindly informed me, that he traced the notes on the venerable relic.

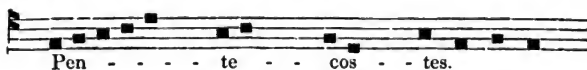
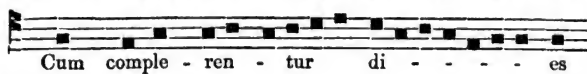
<sup>g</sup> 1328, Maurice O'Gibelan was a Canon and singer of Tuam, Elphin, and of Clonmacnois.—Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>h</sup> See the next Chapter.

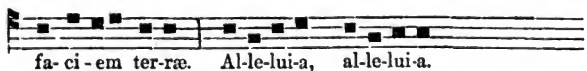
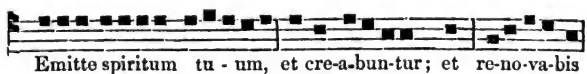
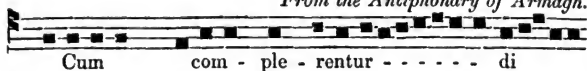
of Armagh. But this accidental difference would have happened, either because the latter was only a transcript of the Salisbury use in England; or because, though copied from the Roman, it was affected in passing through an Irish atmosphere.<sup>1</sup>

In connexion with music, it may not be amiss, perhaps, to allude here to dramatic representations,

<sup>1</sup> The following is taken from the Roman Antiphony, printed in 1671.



*From the Antiphony of Armagh.*



The Music in both these pieces from the Roman and Irish Antiphonaries is identical in many notes. But there is a greater identity in the strains of both. Any person acquainted with the strain and spirit of the music in the Roman gradual will trace a close resemblance between it and the specimen from the Armagh Antiphony. It is to be observed, that the diamond and long notes, as known to Gregorian singers, are used in the Antiphony of Armagh. Hurry prevented me from giving them in the above specimen.

as exhibited in the Irish Church. Paganism and immorality, in ancient times, found the stage a most convenient platform for playing on a wicked society. Hence, on its introduction, Christianity waged an implacable war against what had been a most potent auxiliary to the cause of error.<sup>k</sup> But when the seed of the Gospel struck deep root, and overspread society; and when it was maintained that dramatic representations tended to the development of the highest creations of genius; when (in a word) the drama was thought likely to do no harm, but much good, its restoration was sanctioned and brought about by the Church. The Church formed an alliance with the drama, not so much for the cultivation of the intellect, as for the improvement of the heart. Looking to eternal interests, what did that Church care for the soarings of the muse, if it spurned the truthful simplicity of the Gospel? What did it care for the scenic representations of the stage, unless it gave an echo of the sad drama on Calvary? On that account, the lives of saints, the acts of martyrs, the mysteries of religion, were the favourite themes with Christian actors and spectators. Such religious dramatic performances began not before the thirteenth century in the Irish Church, and continued to, and after, the Reformation, in the sixteenth. In the year 1509, John Andow, procurator of the deanery of St. Patrick was furnished with a bill for three shillings and a penny. The items mentioned were, seven lights supplied to Thomas Magon, with which he played at Christmas and Candlemas.

<sup>k</sup> Quid tibi cum pompis diaboli quibus renuntiasti, St. Aug. Tractat. de symbol. ad catechumen.—See Tertullian de spectac.

Another bill to the amount of 4s. 7d. is furnished, because there had been a playing "with the great and little angel, and with the dragon," at Whitsuntide.<sup>1</sup> In 1523, the life of St. Laurence was acted. Each play was enlivened by some bold incident, or some delicacy of expression. But the plays at Christmas and "Corpus Christi," threw all others into the shade. Let the following be taken as specimens. The annalist tells us, that in the year 1528, Arland Usher was mayor; and that Francis Hubert and John Squire were Bailiffs. Tailors personated Adam and Eve; the shoemakers Crispin and Crispinianus; the vintners Bacchus; the carpenters St. Joseph and the Virgin Mary; the smiths Vulcan; and the bakers personated Ceres, the Goddess of corn. The theatre was no less important than College Green. The actors were no less dignified characters than the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Blessed Trinity, and of All Hallows. Two plays were gone through. One represented Our Saviour's Passion; the other represented the several deaths which the Apostles suffered. Second only to those of Christmas, were the plays of Corpus Christi. Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword before them, were represented by the glovers; Cain and Abel, with the altar and their offering, were represented by the curriers; Noah and the family in the ark, by mariners and vintners; Abraham and Isaac, with their altar and offering, by the weavers; Pharaoh and his host, by the smiths; the Children of Israel, with camels, by the skinners; the Kings of the East, by the goldsmiths; and the Shepherds, with the angel singing "Gloria in Excelsis," were re-

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Pembridge, for the Archæol. Society, note w. p. 105.

presented by the harpers. The "Corpus Christi" guild represented Christ in his passion, and the Marys and angels; the tailors again represented Pilate and his wife; the barbers, Ananias and Caiphas; the fishermen, the Apostles; the merchants, the Prophets; and the butchers represented the tormentors at the crucifixion.<sup>m</sup> In these representations all felt an interest, from the Earl of Ossory, who contributed the tapestry, to the rustics who constructed the stage. They did not foster the passions, but rather, while they amused the young, and instructed the ignorant, they sent all home better men. The drama, like every other branch of literature and science, was made ancillary to the purposes of religion and morality.

For some time past, I have presented the Irish Church under a two-fold aspect—under an Irish and Anglo-Irish view.—This was necessary to a proper representation of the whole. There were two races, distinct by birth, by language, by genius, by sympathies, and by territory. As if the great ocean rolled between, the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, though on the same soil, were looked on as distinct and different. On that account, in providing for the Church of Ireland, the Dominican general, who raised Ireland to a province in 1484, appointed, however, two provincials. One was for those within, another for those without the Pale.<sup>n</sup> Such an anomaly was called for by the despair of an amalgamation of both nations.

<sup>m</sup> Ware's MSS.

<sup>n</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 75, says that some 18 houses were subject to each province.

But a more lasting anomaly was presented by the diocese of Enaghdone. The diocese being depressed to a wardenship continued so till within the last thirty years. The English complained, that while celebrating the divine offices, they were interrupted by those Irish, who came down from the mountains. And indeed the aversion to social intercourse with regard to each other was mutual. If the English or Anglo-Irish looked on their neighbours as rude and turbulent, the Irish in turn, in order to guard against the unprincipled rapacity of the Anglo-Irish, made laws to moderate, if not altogether to prevent intercourse with them.\* In order that the citizens of Galway should be separate from, and independent in a great measure of, the Archbishop of Tuam, it was thought desirable to establish a wardenship in Galway. To separate from Tuam, which was looked on as an Irish See, the town of Galway or Enaghdone, poor as it was, the kings of England frequently endeavoured to erect the latter into an independent Bishopric. However the Archbishop of Tuam contrived to attach it for a long time to the Archdiocese. Now, however, rather than see it an independent See, he consented to, or applied for, its erection into a wardenship. Backed as this application of the Archbishop was, by the complaints of the Anglo-Irish of Galway, Innocent VIII. expedited a diploma. It explains the cause, the privileges, and the duties of the wardenship. According to the diploma, the Church of St. Nicholas, for a long time, enjoyed from the abbot of the house "Collis Victoriæ," a Cistercian foundation,

\* Hardiman's Galway, p. 68.

the one-fourth of the revenue from funerals.<sup>p</sup> Besides this, for the support of the chapter or warden, it received with the consent of its vicar who had care of souls, the revenues of St. James' Church. To fulfil the law, which required the value of livings to be specified when there was question of uniting them, six marks sterling<sup>q</sup> are put down as the value of St. James'. Well, after some lengthy preamble, the diploma allows, "that there be eight regular learned men, as vicars, governed by a guardian, all of whom are to observe the rites of the English Church. The priests or vicars were to be appointed by a mayor, and seneschal, and the peers of Galway ; afterwards, the vicars were to be presented by them to the guardian. The guardian removeable every year, was to be appointed by the mayor, seneschal, and by the chief men of Galway. Then he was to be presented by them to the eight vicars. The vicars and the guardian were to form a collegiate body. He was to possess full jurisdiction over priests and people, and have the care of souls. The vicars and guardians were to have a common seal, table, and the other collegiate appendages."<sup>r</sup> This

<sup>p</sup> Any thing received by the Church for funerals was divided into four parts. One part went to the Bishop ; another to the Church in which the burial took place ; the third to the repair of the Church ; and a fourth share went to the poor.—See Thomassinus, part ii. liv. 1. ch. lxii.

<sup>q</sup> The English mark 13s. 4d. was greater by one third, than the Irish mark.

<sup>r</sup> Hib. D. p. 441. The seal of the wardenship was St. Nicholas with a crozier and mitre ; three virgins kneeling on his right, and under the left were the purses by which he rescued them from prostitution.



placed the Church of Galway in an anomalous position. As an excrescence, it took its rise from the antipathy, and self-sufficiency of the Anglo-Irish. Either before or after, it had no parallel. As might have been expected, it proved a source of much contention and abuse. The Church of St. Nicholas,\* from which the college took its name, was, after some time, richly endowed. Even at once, for the support of the collegiate body several parishes were annexed to it.

After a few years, besides the provision made in the diploma for the institution of the wardenship, the rectory of Finamore, the vicarages of Meray † and of Moycullen in Enaghdune, ‡ the livings of Kilcommin, Kilruan, the rectory of Gnobeg, § Shruther, ¶ Skryne \*

\* For the age in which it was built, St. Nicholas' Church was a magnificent building. Built in 1320 it was dedicated to the Saint whose name it bears, who was Bishop of Myra in Asia Minor. It contained thirteen altars,

† It was given in 1489.

‡ In 1488.

§ Innocent VIII dispossessed Maurice O'Offaghart of Gnobeg, because he would not take orders. It was then given to the College. However, John D'Burgo and Nemea Maquelly, were to offer forty masses. Like many other livings, Gnobeg was in the gift of lay patrons.

¶ In 1501.

\* By a bull issued in 1492, Alexander VI. assigned Skryne and Moycullen to St. Nicholas' College; but in 1495, on the plea of non-compliance with the conditions required by the Council of Lateran, he took Skryne and Clonberey from the College, and gave them to an illegitimate lad only seventeen years old. The same Pope granted to Richard D'Burgo, Canon of Enaghdune, Tiraglas, Kenmara and Ballinclare, which were in three dioceses; because their occupiers did not comply with the conditions of the Lateran Council. Pope Julius in 1511, on the same grounds; gave to Ristard Burke, perhaps the

and Kinlagh were assigned to the college. But these annexations did not take place without both trouble and scandal. Day after day, orders came from Rome to investigate cases of litigated possession. Hence we find Alexander VI. directing bulls to the Bishop of Clonfert, in order to decide on the claims advanced on one side by the warden, and on the other by Richard D' Burgo to the livings of Finamore and Meray. One Florence O'Grady was said to have been deputed, some time before this, to give a decision in the matter. On this alleged decision in favor of De Burgo, he rested his claim. The guardian and vicars appealed, but failed in prosecuting the appeal within the appointed time. To enable them, however, to press their case, the Pope extended the time for appeal. At the same time he ordered the Bishop of Clonfert to enforce his decision by censures. In like manner in 1497, the warden instituted a suit against Maurice O'Flaherty, and Odo O'Flaherty, both of whom pleaded in their favor, a decision of Myler O'Kennewan, Canon of Tuam. The litigated parishes were those of Gnobeg, Moycullen, Kilcommin, Killbrowan, and Raffrin. But, as on a former occasion, the guardian failed to prosecute the appeal within the appointed time. From the indulgence of Rome it was prolonged. A bull empowering them to investigate the matter was directed to the Archbishop of Tuam, to the Bishop of Clonfert, and to David De

same as mentioned above, the livings of Chilmaine and Killtelschel. Both were valued at ninety marks sterling. These unions not arising from poverty—because for that age ninety marks was a vast sum—did not contribute to the interests of religion. The conditions required by the council of Lateran were to state as well the name of the former occupant and his dignity, as the value of the living to be united.

Burgo, Dean of Clonfert—the decision was in favor of the college, It was to be put in possession of the litigated parishes within six days. Nor was this all—The former occupants of the livings were to indemnify the college for the length of time they remained in their hands.<sup>7</sup>

Nor was it merely in the acquisition of wealth and possessions the collegiate body excited opposition. Wealth begot a spirit of independence. The vicars with the warden repudiated any control on the part of the corporation by whom they were voted into existence. The corporation did not abandon its rights. A meeting was called in the town-hall ; and from the resolutions passed we can judge of the pretensions of the warden and vicars. The resolutions insisted that the collegiate body should sing in choir, at Tierce, sext, and none ; that they should live together ; that no priest or vicar should be found out of his chamber at night, unless on duty ; that four boys should assist at the singing of mass at the expense of the college ; that the mayor and council shall be empowered to punish and correct the warden and vicars, without the right of appeal on the part of the latter to the Archbishop of Tuam ; and finally that the mayor and council shall have the election as well of the warden yearly, as of all other persons connected with the college.<sup>8</sup> By these resolutions we can see not only the high pretensions advanced by the college, but the lax discipline which already crept into it. Certain it is, that the veneration of the surrounding district was not secured by the sanctity of collegiate

<sup>7</sup> Hardiman's *Iar Connaught*, appendix, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> Corporation Book.

life. The college was broken into ; and several articles, even the very chalices were taken away. <sup>a</sup> Attacks repeated sometime after, appear to have been connived at by persons high in authority. Because, the Dean of Enagh-dune, Donald O'Flaherty, bound himself before the mayor, to defend the college in its possessions, tithes, oblations ; and to indemnify it for any injury done by his men. While the Wardenship failed in attaining the end of its institution, it proved a prolific source of disputes not only between the Archbishop of Tuam and its members, but even between the members themselves. <sup>b</sup>

I remarked before, that we can get an idea of this century, by reading backward the thirteenth century. And as, till the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, we saw an unseemly scramble for a bishopric, so now too a like disedifying spectacle passes before us. It was in 1463. <sup>c</sup> Jordan was Bishop of Cork

<sup>a</sup> Hardiman's *Iar Connaught*, p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> Like the seal of the Chapter of Armagh, the seal of the Wardenship was common property. The former could not be kept by the Dean, but under three locks, in some place accessible to all.—*Octavian's Register*.

James Fallon,

Thomas Molga, in 1500,

John Bermingham, in 1514,

John O'Dermod, in 1529,

} Wardens.

<sup>c</sup> I suspect that the forgery of M'Ineenane, in 1460, arose from ecclesiastical ambition. He forged letters in the name of Henry O'Neil. The penance he received was singular and severe. He was bound to go barefooted and bareheaded, with only one garment, with a wax light, a pound in weight ; and so submit to be beaten for twelve Sundays, in presence of the solemn procession of the Church, bearing the light, at the close of the procession, to the image of St. Patrick, and there beg pardon ; and, if circumstances permitted, to go within two years to the tomb of the Apostles.—*Registry of Octavian*.

and Cloyne—William Roche Archdeacon of Cloyne contrived a deputation to the Pope, requesting of him to appoint a coadjutor to Jordan broken down by years and labor. The request purported to come from the aged Bishop. To help out the Archdeacon in the plot, a priest, one of the Geraldine family of the diocese of Cloyne, and formerly one of the Bishop's domestics, forged an instrument whereby the old Bishop was made to appoint this Gerald, and O'Hedian Archdeacon of Cashel as his proctors to tender the resignation of the See. The Bishop of Ardagh was at Rome at this time ; and into his hands O'Hedian put the matter. In consequence of this O'Hedian was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Jordan. The old Bishop was driven from his see, and the revenues were seized on. He appealed to the Pope. The appeal was backed by the king, who represented everything as done without the Bishop's privity. The Pope commissioned the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Limerick, or either, to investigate the matter. And if things were as represented, they were ordered to reinstate the old, and remove the coadjutor Bishop. In aid of the Pope's commission, the king sent orders to the mayors of Cork and Youghal, to the Roches, and Barrys, and Barretts, to the sovereign of Kinsale, to carry it into execution. They were ordered to imprison any person, who offered any opposition ; and to maintain the old Bishop and his tenants in quiet possession. Besides imprisonment, all resistance to authority was to be met with loss of goods and office. And thus the old Bishop was put, and kept in the quiet possession of the Bishopric. But what I have stated does not bespeak the confusion and corruption of the times, so much as this circumstance, that

William Roche and Jordan were the immediate successors of the old Bishop.<sup>d</sup>

Though a thoroughly selfish exclusive spirit is seen in legislation at this time, yet acts turn up, which indicate some concern for the Church. Several pious foundations took place, and the legislature encouraged them. The abbot of Tintern, who was at great expense in repairing the abbey, was exempted from attending in Parliament and the great councils. Notwithstanding the law of mortmain, the abbot of Navan was allowed to acquire lands to the amount of £40.<sup>e</sup> For maintaining the dignity of his See, the Archbishop of Armagh was allowed to purchase lands.<sup>f</sup> Notwithstanding the same law, the chaplain of Youghal obtained leave from the king, to purchase lands for the college.<sup>g</sup> This happened during the reign of Edward IV. in 1462. Notwithstanding these acts, the legislature was taking a downward course.

At this time one may detect an improved tone in the primacy. The present primate does not appear so much the creature of the state, as his predecessor Payne. Besides, he asserted the rights of the primatial See. He issued orders for visiting Tuam and Cashel; and entertained an appeal on a matrimonial cause between Alice Knight, and her husband, Simon Abrey.<sup>h</sup> For a long time, the right claimed and exercised in the following document, was questioned by the Archbishop of Dublin.—

<sup>d</sup> Harris' Bishops. Old Rymer.

<sup>e</sup> Archdall.

<sup>f</sup> Liber Munerum, 6th part.

<sup>g</sup> Rolls in Chancery, quoted by Smyth in his history of Cork, p. 83.

<sup>h</sup> Harris' Bishops, p. 78.

“In the name of God. Amen. Having heard, seen, known, and fully understood the merits and circumstances of the case of appeal, and the merits of the case on its *first* stage before the honorable Master William Theendee, official of Archbishop of Dublin, between Alice Knight plaintiff on one side, and Simon Abrey her husband defendant on the other, for some time pending; and *after*, by way of appeal, devolved on the metropolitical court of Dublin and there terminated; and by a second appeal devolved on the primatial see of Armagh, the primatial see of Ireland, and committed to us by the Most Rev. Father John, Archbishop of Armagh by the grace of God,<sup>1</sup> to be terminated canonically; and because we have seen and examined the acts and processes of these causes before Master Robert, official of the court of Dublin, the judge before whom it was introduced, and before us, the judge before whom they were laid, we find by the deposition of faithful men against whom, or against whose evidence nothing was objected on the part of Simon Abrey to change our minds, and for many reasons, that the intention of the said Alice was well regulated in reference to the appeal and its causes: we, therefore, James Leech, canon of the Church of Armagh and specially

<sup>1</sup> Bishop “by the grace of God.” This style was generally used to the twelfth century, and middle of the thirteenth century. Afterwards, “by the divine permission,” “by the divine clemency,” “by the grace of God,” were used indiscriminately. Sometimes, indeed, priests and abbots used the latter form.—Selden, *Titles of Honor*, Works iii. Coll. 962. It is observable, that the words “*Dei gratia*,” were used by persons addressing the Bishop; but when the instruments or documents ran in their own name, they used the words “by divine permission.”—Primate Colton’s Visitation for the I. A. S.

deputed commissary by the Most Rev. Lord, the Primate of Armagh, for the causes assigned, having invoked specially the name of Christ, and having taken counsel with men skilled in the law, pronounce the appeal of Alice well founded; and that the said judges, from whom an appeal was made, pronounced wrongly and invalidly: and so we annul and make it void with all our power. And as we find that the said Alice never consented, but had been forced by her friends; and that she ran off as soon as she could, the said marriage we declare null, and as if it never were, and divorce her; and decree that the dowry and gifts and private money (paraphernalia) be restored; and declare both parties free to marry, by the definitive sentence."<sup>k</sup>

If the Irish Church had a dark side, it had a bright one too. On this side, persecuting enactments, undutiful opposition to the holy see, disrespect to the priestly character are looked for in vain. One curious instance of sacrilegious outrage cannot be passed over. Perhaps there may be some palliation for it in the madness under which it was perpetrated. In 1465, says the annalist, there was great scarcity of provisions. The people clamoured for food—The scene occurred in Siol Murray.<sup>l</sup> Either because the priest was supposed to have, or could get provisions, a demand was made on him. But from whatever motive influenced, they dragged the priest with the Blessed Sacrament in his hands, clad in the sacred vestments, from off the altar.<sup>m</sup> But, on the whole, respect for the clerical body, love of

<sup>k</sup> Jus Primatiale Armac. p. 202.

<sup>l</sup> Elphin.

<sup>m</sup> Dudley Firbis, quoted by J. O'D.



penance and retirement, which gave their piety a primitive character, marked the old Irish. The customary troop of holy pilgrims and royal recluses passes before the historic eye. In 1450, full fifty went to Rome to celebrate the Jubilee ; and seven never more returned.<sup>n</sup> In 1471, to enter religion, the Lord of Fermanagh resigned his lordship.<sup>o</sup> In 1473, he was followed by M'William Burke. In 1467, Ailbe, daughter of Hugh Maguire gave herself and property to the Convent of Lisgavol.<sup>p</sup> In 1486, Thady O'Kelly, Lord of Hy-Manie, took the habit of the third order of St. Francis.<sup>q</sup> O'Driscoll Mor and son, who performed pilgrimages to St. James in 1472 and again in 1480 ; and Maguire son of Thomas More, who had been to Rome and twice at Compostella, died on their round of pilgrimage.<sup>r</sup> While at home, their life had been a warfare indeed ; but domestic or national afflictions could not satisfy the penitential spirit—the sublime faith of the valiant lord, and the high-born dame. They should kneel and pray at the tombs of holy places. They measured kingdoms by their steps. Having traversed the extremities of Europe, and then expiring during the pilgrims' devotion, a voice appears to rise from them—"Now dismiss thy servants, for our eyes have seen the salvation of Israel."

There had been a considerable share of intellectual activity in the Irish Church, during the fifteenth cen-

<sup>n</sup> Registry by Harris, p. 341. Annals Four Masters. At every hundredth year the jubilee was fixed by Boniface VIII. ; at every fiftieth by Clement VI. ; and the term was reduced afterwards by Sixtus IV. to twenty-five years.

<sup>o</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

tury. If the term may be applied, there was a monopoly of learning amongst the clergy. But they sought to diffuse it amongst the people. The intellectual works of that age may not possess for all the same interest, which later productions may enlist. But some of them will have a value and an interest, as long as Irish annals and the Irish church deserve a chapter in a history of the world. There were those, who like Augustin Magradan of Longford, and Barrett Bishop of Ferns, left valuable lives of Irish Saints and of Irish Bishops. William of Waterford wrote a work, which was deemed worthy of dedication to, and acceptance by, Cardinal Julian. It was on religion. John of Ireland who lived about 1460, commanded such a range of reading, that he made selections from all sacred writers to illustrate every variety of subject. There are several Irish annalists. Such were Coll Deoran of Leinster, the annalist of Loughkee, Donald O'Fihely of Cork, and above all Charles M'Guire. Born in Fermanagh, he became an excellent philosopher, historian, and divine.\* The times considered, great intellectual activity prevailed. Because they were times of confusion and transition. They were times for action. Amid the difficulties in which it found itself, the Irish Church had no more time for intellectual development than a chaplain to an army, half of which on the battle field lay in the agonies of death.

\* "His Annals go by the name of Ulster Annals," or "Annals Senatenses." They got the latter title, because completed at Senat-M'Magnus. They are behind the true date by four years, till about the year 1380. After this period they coincide with the true time. They come down only to the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Museum. But the T.C.D. copy comes down to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.—J. O'D.

## CHAPTER XIV.

"ALL those, who seized or concealed any of the goods of the Archbishop of Armagh, or attacked his manor, we excommunicate, anathematize, and remove from the precincts of the Church, deliver to Satan and to his ministers for the destruction of the flesh; we render them accursed, whether standing, sitting, walking, sleeping, waking, talking or silent, eating, drinking, and in every thing they do; that their society may be of those who said, 'Depart from us, O Lord, since we deserve not the knowledge of your ways.' So be it. So be it. Amen."\* In a provincial council held on the 9th of June, 1460, the above curious form of excommunication was issued against Robert Cusack. He was a native of Meath. But if the censures of the Church could avail, its property might have been untouched. In the provincial council held in 1453, much stress had been laid on the invasion of ecclesiastical property; accordingly severe measures were adopted to guard against it. And by and by again, in the year 1487, in a council held at Dundalk, by the Primate Octavian, it was decreed, among other things, that

\* Register of Palatian. If Dr. Mant looked into this Register, he need not have gone to England in order to get an idea of the form of excommunication used in the Irish Church.—See Mant's Church History, p. 28.

there should be no exaction from, or molestation given to ecclesiastics, either native or English, to their servants or tenants. An interdict was thrown on the land, when any person, except the king, violated the decrees. The consequence of the interdict was a cessation of the divine offices. This cessation was to continue, till it was certainly established, that the offending party had received absolution.<sup>b</sup> All respect for property and even for the highest ecclesiastical personages had, to a great extent, vanished. Sad change from the times, when the Irish looked on the word of the ecclesiastic as an oracle ; and on the very necessities of life as not to be touched, if either under the protection of the Church, or the shadow of the Sanctuary. In the shifting state of society, like so many waves of an invasion, the advances of the stranger or the natives, effaced old land marks, and lessened that respect for property which title or possession may give. Ecclesiastics, who were carried forward in the common tide to prosperity, at its ebb by and by, found themselves poor and unprotected. The complaints were made generally against the native Irish.

But it was not merely from the Irish, the property of the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics suffered losses. Their property or persons enjoyed no immunity at the hands of the Anglo-Irish nobility. In illustration of this, it will be amusing to peruse, in its original quaintness, the following appeal :—“Most excellent, victorious, Christian King, and our most redoubted Liege Lord, after the most humble recommendation, we your devout and continual petitioners, whose names bene subscribed, and whose

<sup>b</sup> Register of Palatian.

seales bene put into this present writing, in the name of the hole Church of this your land of Ireland, grievously complaineth unto your highness, that the said Church of Ireland is now more inordinately oppressed, contrary unto the privileges and liberties of your most noble progenitors, granted and gyvyn unto the said Church, than have bene sēn the Christian feythe and holy Church was planted yn your said lande of Ireland, by the malicious meanes and wicked styrryngs of one Barnaby Barnewall, pretended Knight, which calleth himself Secondary Justice of your Chiefe Bench in your said land in Ireland, as rulere of all that courte here, whose authority in that behalf ys unknown until us, which Barnaby continually occupied his mynde to serch and fynde by his wisdom, which he pretendeth to pass and excede the wisdomes in this your land of Ireland, the newe ways and means to hurt the Church, and to breke the lyberte and privileges ther of excluding, in as mych as in hym lythe, prelates of the Church here to proceed in causes mere spiritual, as in causes of matrimony, testatmentary, perjury, tithes, spiritual corrections of synnes, and others like, in the which the said Barnaby proceeded daily—the form of your laws not observed—and vexeth and troubleth the prelates, persons of the Church here, in so mych that if they cam lowly until hym and please hym, with a reward others, an annual fee, or persoyne, he will cause thaym to be indyted before hym, and lest the priestes, which the said Barnaby bringeth before hym, to have the said prelates and persons credyted, do after his intente, and indyte the said prelates and persons contrary to their consciences, keepeth them undischarged, iii. or iiiii. days, and other whylys, from one time until

another, and some times emprisoneth thaym and commandeth them to warde."<sup>c</sup>

The Anglo-Irish for some time thought themselves self-sufficient for purposes of Church and State. In legislating on the exclusion of persons whether from Ireland or from Rome, they thought their church would hold on its course. But in a short time, prejudiced as they were, in presence of the duties assumed to them they felt themselves quite helpless. So early as 1474, it was found necessary to allow some abbots to hold communication with the Irish, and act as gossips or god-fathers to them.<sup>d</sup> However it was not till 1485, that former enactments were repealed. By positive ordinances too it was decreed, that benefices for two years may lawfully be granted to the Irish.<sup>e</sup> This perhaps was brought about by some such representations, as those made by Fitzsimons Archbishop of Dublin. He stated, that even in the Dublin diocese, there were some districts in which the English language was not understood; and that to those in which it was understood—because of their poverty—the English priests objected to come.<sup>f</sup> However, in a short time after, a distinction was made not only between the English and Irish, but even between the English and Anglo-Irish priests as such. For, the deputy or Lord Lieutenant, Edgecombe, having come from England to receive the allegiance of some of the Irish, who rose in rebellion for Lambert Simnel, would not be satisfied with an oath sworn over the Eucharist consecrated by any priest other than his

<sup>c</sup> Register of Octavian de Palatio, vol. i.

<sup>d</sup> See Archdall.

<sup>e</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>f</sup> Harris' Bishops.

own chaplain.<sup>a</sup> Also in 1494, it was decreed that the prior of Kilmainham to be elected with the consent of the king and the prior of Rhodes, should be an Englishman.<sup>b</sup> This ordinance was confirmed by a more solemn enactment in the following year, known by the name of Poyning's law. That law ordained that the prior of Kilmainham, the most extensive possessor of land among the ecclesiastics, should be an Englishman;<sup>c</sup> that twenty-six shillings and eight-pence should be paid as a tax on every 120 acres of ecclesiastical land;<sup>d</sup> that the laws of England were binding in Ireland;<sup>e</sup> and that the statutes of Kilkenny, as much as possible, should be enforced. At this time, indeed, it was almost impossible to enforce them. Because, the one half of the counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Meath, and of Wexford, comprised the entire Pale.<sup>f</sup> Even with those within the Pale Irish habits and lan-

<sup>a</sup> Harris' *Hibernica*.

<sup>b</sup> Archdall.

<sup>c</sup> The Prior of Kilmainham had lands not only in Dublin, but in Galway and Meath.

<sup>d</sup> Leland.

<sup>e</sup> The same was decreed by an Irish act, in the reign of Edward IV. as it was thought, that the laws were of a sufficiently general nature, to have them applied to Ireland. Of this general character, were the 13th of Edward I. and many under Edward II. and Edward III. In the reign of Richard III. a question arose, whether a corporate town in Ireland was bound by English Statutes; and though some differed, most answered in the affirmative.—Hallam Const. Hist. vol. ii. p. 523. Leland.

<sup>f</sup> Unless what concerned the Irish language, the statutes of Kilkenny were re-enacted. This shows the general use of the Irish language at the time—Lingard, vol. iv. ch. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Liber Munerum—Leland, B. iii.

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York. Henry VII. suspecting the loyalty of the Earl of Kildare, as if to consult on business of importance, sent for him. But a memorial, representing his presence as altogether necessary to the well-being of the state in Ireland, was signed by an influential number of ecclesiastics. Those who signed were the Archbishops of Armagh and of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, four Abbots and a Prior. The Prior was Nicholas of Conal. The Abbots were Thomas Purcell of Thomas' court, Walter Chamflour of St. Mary's, John Troy Abbot of Millifont, and Henry Abbot of Baltinglass.<sup>p</sup> A conspiracy, in the mean time, was being hatched; and one Lambert Simnel was fixed on as an instrument for working it to a successful issue. He was the son of a shoemaker, or baker, and educated by a priest, named Fitzsimons. Edward Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence, was to be personated by Simnel, as the representative of the White Rose. Accompanied by a considerable army and a number of lords adherents to the White Rose, he landed in Ireland in 1487. Among others the Archbishop of Armagh, and Edmund Courcey Bishop of Clogher, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, remained loyal. But many, among others, Keating, favoured the rebellion. So too did the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Kildare and of Meath. The last preached on the occasion of the coronation. To get through the ceremony of coronation, a crown was taken from the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and placed on the head of the mock king. Afterwards he was led through the city. In the preceding year, Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote

<sup>p</sup> Ware's Annals.

to the Pope concerning the difference of opinion which was entertained relative to Simnel. The letter ran thus—"The clergy and seculars are divided at this time with a king and no king : some saying he is the son of Edward, Earl of Warwick ; others saying, he is an impostor. But our brother of Canterbury hath assured me of the truth, and his majesty, the King of England hath shown the right son of the said Earl to the public view of all the city of London, which convinceth me, that it is an error witting to breed dissension."

This letter, though it did not convict the Archbishop in the eyes of the Pope, yet when backed by the representations of the king, made Innocent think, that the conduct of all supporters of Simnel was criminal. Accordingly, the Pope in the year 1487, wrote to the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, to the Bishops of Clogher, and of Ossory. He felt and expressed surprise, that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, were not ashamed of adherence to the king's enemies. He therefore wished, that their conduct should be submitted to an inquiry, and if necessary, punished according to law.<sup>a</sup> Whatever may be said of others, the Archbishop of Armagh was guiltless of rebellion. Because, he objected to be present at the coronation of the mock-king, and so incurred the vengeance of the king's enemies.<sup>r</sup> At the same time, he incurred the suspicion of disloyalty, because, at the time in which the plot was being hatched, and on the eve of a rebellion, he petitioned for the continuance of Kildare in Ireland. But almost all—

<sup>a</sup> Ware's Annals—Harris' Bishops, p. 89.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid

Bishops and people—got pardon. The people of Dublin, in pleading for pardon, alleged the example of their right reverend father in God. To grant pardon in a solemn manner, and on the other hand, to receive an expression of allegiance, Edgecombe, one of the king's privy council, was sent to Ireland.\* An oath was administered on the sacrament, consecrated by the chaplain of Edgecombe.† They swore allegiance to the king, and that they would prevent the publication of every bull trenching on the king's prerogative, or calculated to lessen loyalty to him. The same degree of respect or disrepect was to be shown under such circumstances to the bull, whether it came from Friar, Abbot, Priest or Pope.

Those, to whom pardon by patent was given, were the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin; the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Cloyne; the abbots of St. Mary's and St. Thomas's; the abbots of Baltinglass, Navan, Mellifont, Bectiff, of St. Mary's, Trim; the Priors of Corbally and Louth, and of St. Peter's of Newtown, near Trim.‡ In addition to the oath taken by the nobility, the following clause was added to the one required from ecclesiastics:—"I shall from this day forth, as often as I shall be lawfully required, on behalf of our said sovereign Lord, execute the censures of the

\* Ware's Annals, ad. an. 1488

† The oath of Bishops and all ecclesiastics consisted generally, in their looking to the Gospels and placing their hands on the breast.—Registries of Armagh, *passim*. In 1313, Maurice Fitz-Thomas and William Birmingham made peace with the justiciary, one Anthony, by touching the Gospels and relics in presence of the body of Christ.—Clyn's Annals, p. 23.

‡ Ware's Annals

Church, by the authority of our holy father, Pope Innocent VIII., who now reigns, and by his bull given under the great seal, against all those of his subjects of what dignity, degree, state or condition they be of, that let or trouble our own sovereign Lord, or his title to the crown of England, and Lordship of Ireland; or cause commotion or rebellion against the same, or aid any of his traitors, or rebels; that intend the destruction of his sacred person, or subversion of his Kingdom in England or Lordship in Ireland; I shall execute the same sentence, with all solemnity thereunto belonging, within my church, within my jurisdiction, openly and solemnly, and will declare the same censures against all transgressors against said bull, or cause to be executed or declared—saving the Episcopal privileges.”\* On the reconciliation of the Earl of Kildare, he used all efforts to obtain pardon for Thomas Plunkett, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and for Keating, Prior of Kilmainham. The former was pardoned; but so far was the latter from receiving pardon, that he was displaced from the governorship of Dublin Castle, which he, to the exclusion of the legal governor, Richard Archbald, had usurped for some time.† But while Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, discharged his duty to the King, he certainly did not forget his sacred ministry. In 1487, he wrote to Henry VII. in favor of an Athenian to the see of Dromore.

\* Ware's Annals.

† Ibid.

\* He states, that the See in spirituals and temporals was not worth £40; that the Irish was less by one third, than the English money; and the See had been widowed of its pastor for the last two years. In fact, its Bishop lived in England for full five years—Harris' Bishops, p. 263.

He held frequent synods, one at Drogheda in 1480 ; a second in 1486 ; and a provincial synod at Attherdee in 1489. At the last assisted the Bishops of Raphoe, of Derry, of Clogher, of Meath, of Clonmacnois, of Ardagh, and of Dromore. There had been a contest for the Bishopric of Kilmore, between Thomas Brady, and one Cormac. It was brought before the synod. The decision come to, was to refer the matter to the arbitration of the Bishops of Meath, of Clogher, and of Ardagh. Yet, strange to tell, both the rival claimants of the Bishopric, assisting at another provincial synod at Drogheda in 1495, styled themselves, with the grace of God, Bishops of Kilmore. Some matter connected with the daily distribution of the Cathedral was litigated on the one hand, between Nicholas Maguire, Bishop of Leighlin, and the chapter on the other hand. They referred the matter to the Archbishop of Dublin. The chapter was not satisfied with the decision, and so appealed to the Primate. The Primate entertained the appeal, and in favor of the chapter reversed the sentence.

Except the unfortunate Prior of Kilmainham, who was stripped of his possessions, and died in poverty, all implicated in the rebellion of Lambert Simnel received pardon. But the pardon did not secure their gratitude. A few years after, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, set up another competitor to the crown of England. His name was Perkin Warbeck. He personated the Duke of York, son of Edward the Fourth. He landed in Cork. Many ecclesiastics rallied around *him*, as around Simnel. Among these were the Deans of Limerick and Kilkenny, the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the Bishops of Cork and of Waterford. Thus, instead

of laboring with united efforts, for the distracted church committed to their charge, the Irish Bishops, during the last fifteen years of the fifteenth century, wearied themselves in acts of insane rebellion.<sup>7</sup> During these troubles the Popes showed themselves steadfast friends to the Lancastrian cause.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in favor of Lambert Simnel, Innocent VIII. wrote to the Irish Archbishops and Bishops. He, while confirming them in loyalty to Henry VII., ordered them to fulminate censures against the rebellious. And his successor Alexander VI., on occasion of the trouble caused by Perkin Warbeck, acted the same part. He issued a bull, by which he required the Bishops to meet, take measures for the prevention of disturbance, and to enforce them by censures.<sup>8</sup> The English monarch did not correspond with this kindly spirit in the Popes. He kept the temporalities of Ossory for eleven years from the Bishop appointed by Innocent VIII. Though trembling for his lordship in Ireland, he claimed in reference to Rome, the prerogatives of the most indepen-

<sup>7</sup> Ware's Annals.

<sup>8</sup> Old Rymer. Alexander the VI. wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishops of Bath, Wells and London, agreeably to a request made by Henry VII. to provide some measures against the disturbance of the land of Ireland. The disorders were represented as prevailing, principally, in the rude remote districts. The Pope empowered them for the time being, to assemble some good Archbishops and Bishops, in any place they may think fit; to take measures for the reformation of the church and people; and notwithstanding the decrees of Otto and Ottobone former legates, to punish the refractory.—Wilkin's Council of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iii. p. 645. Henry and the English Bishops identified submission to the powers that be, with virtue and religion.

dent monarch. This contrasted very strikingly with the usually submissive spirit of the Irish to the holy see. No matter, in whose gift was a bishopric, no matter in what lord, or dynast, an appointment from Rome was received with respect. Hence persons of every nation, English, Spaniards, Grecians were appointed to Irish Sees.<sup>a</sup> In fact, at no time, was the number of promotions by provision of the Pope so remarkably great, as in the latter years of the fifteenth century.<sup>b</sup>

From the thoroughly secular spirit exhibited by the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics, particularly tending to revolutionize even the state, a low tone of morality may be inferred among the people. Religion did not inspire awe, nor did the ministers of religion inspire respect for themselves. Accordingly, when Ormond and the Earl of Kildare met in a church, as the fittest place to compose differences, and pledge each other to promises of future friendship, the august character of God's house was forgotten. Words ran high ; passion broke loose ; swords bickered ; and the sanctuary narrowly escaped being deluged with blood.<sup>c</sup> At another time, to gratify an angry feeling, and spite the Archbishop of Cashel,

\* In 1487, the Archbishop of Armagh wrote to Henry VII. and recommended an Athenian, who was procurator to the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome. This was the hospital, for which Henry Loundres received four Bysantines, (i.e. eight shillings) out of the endowments of a similar house, which he founded in Dublin. The Archbishop represented Dromore as not worth more than £40. In 1493, he said in writing to the king, that Dromore usually supplied a Bishop for the wild Irish. On that account he recommended Arthur Maguire for the love of God, and the poor people.—Octavian's Register.

<sup>b</sup> Ware's Annals.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

the Earl of Kildare burnt down his cathedral. And when summoned to England, to account for such an outrage, the only thing he deigned to mention in extenuation was, that he burnt the cathedral under the impression, that the Archbishop of Cashel was in it.

However, so far should we be from feeling surprise at a general laxity of morality, from the confusion of the times, and the worldliness of ecclesiastics, that the marvel is, how things were not worse. There was laxity of conduct in the world, and of discipline in the convent. On that account, leave was asked, and given for the reformation of the orders. Of course, there was no change either in the religious dress or dogmata of faith. The bands of discipline were only to be more tightly drawn. We get an insight into the breach made in discipline, from a letter written by the abbot of Mellifont to the Pope. After some prefatory remarks complimentary to his holiness, the abbot proceeded to describe the abuses of the Cistercian order. Speaking of his own unworthiness, and devotion to the Holy See, he alluded to the great trouble encountered in going among the Irish Cistercians, who lived in the woods. He said that the rule of the founder was not observed; that practices prevailed amongst them, which decency forbade him to mention. He had the greater objection to particularize them, lest the character of the entire national Church might be injured. Whether it was he feared that the practices were so shocking, that their prevalence in a single spot, would tarnish the renown of the purest Church, or that their prevalence among the Irish, would argue as much or more frequency among the Anglo-Irish, the letter does not mention. But it went on to describe,



how, for a full hundred years, none from the remote districts, from any of the Irish Cistercian houses, could be induced by promises, or threats, or friendship, to visit their superior. Wars, arising out of the original conquest, were perpetuated by the negligence of the ecclesiastics, and the oppression of the nobles. The latter presented to vacant benefices, and exacted tributes. Monasteries were in a state of decay.<sup>4</sup> No hospitality was practised. The funds were at the disposal of laics. As a natural consequence, the monks wandered about in search of the necessities of life. Divine service was neglected. The monastic dress was laid aside. The monks lived amongst the nobility. Those called abbots, sometimes, were not consecrated, And such as were consecrated, scarcely once a year visited their houses. With the exception of the abbey of Mellifont, and of one near Dublin, there was scarcely a monastery through Ireland, in which the divine service was sung according to note.

Religious in the Irish districts did not recognize the Anglo-Irish superiors but passed over to the rebels. And so far were they from paying a visit to such superiors, that, if the latter attempted to approach their houses, the Irish threw themselves into the churches; mounted to the belfry; let fly arrows; and repelled all approach. The writer who gives this description was commissioned to reform the Cistercian

<sup>4</sup> About 1440, the Archbishop of Armagh issued orders to the suffragans of the province, to have the churches put in repair. The crannying winds, and drifting snow came in through the roof; and the windows, which once had stained many colored glass, of the purest kind, were now unglazed and unframed.—Prene's Register, vol. ii. not paged.

orders. He begged his holiness to be relieved of such a charge. At the same time, he promised all comfort and help to his substitute. One request, however, he made. This was that his house, and that near Dublin, should be exempt from the jurisdiction of any reformer ; that he may have a choice of a confessor either from among the seculars or regulars ; and that the confessor may have faculties to absolve him from all the censures and crimes into which he may have fallen. In asking exemption for his own house and the one near Dublin, from the jurisdiction of the commissioned reformer, he suggested that each of the two houses would have the power to visit and reform the other.\* The Pope in answer to this letter from the abbot of Mellifont, which draws in sombre tints a picture of the Irish Church, says that he did not receive the usual tribute from the Cistercians for the last twenty-eight years. But the abbot satisfied his holiness, that if the money were not forthcoming, it was the fault of the Papal collectors. The happiness of the successor of the abbot as reformer, was not to be envied. Because in trying to reform others, he was accused of standing much in need of reform himself. He was charged with a variety of crimes. A monk of Mellifont, one Thomas Harvey, was said to have made the charges. He denied it ; but by whomsoever denied, the charges were made against the Cistercian reformer. It is very strange indeed, that the abbot of Mellifont, the reformer of the Cistercian order, should have besought the Pope to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the succeeding reformer. And when we couple with this the fact, that he begged for his confessor faculties to

\* Register of Octavian de Palatio.

absolve from all crimes and censures, a suspicion arises, that his testimony on the moral conduct of any people is to be received with some doubt. There can be no question, that in drawing a picture of the Irish religious, the abbot dipped his pencil in tints of national bitterness. And while he makes a charge against the Irish, that charge establishes the shortcomings of the Anglo-Irish church. For, to speak of the Irish religious not recognizing Anglo-Irish superiors, but going over to the rebels, evidently proves that the English ecclesiastics did not keep aloof from the strife of parties ; that ranging themselves among the oppressors of the nation, they forfeited the confidence of their spiritual subjects. But all allowance being made for the prejudice of party-writers, it must be admitted, that the spirit of the world made its way into the cloister. Laxity of discipline is laid to the charge not merely of the Cistercian, but even of every other order. Speaking of the necessity of a reformation, Turriana, General of the Dominican order says, "that all convents were both deserted by brothers, native as well as foreign, and affected by bad practices."

Sadly deficient in the spirit of their calling, seculars and regulars multiplied scandals by their unseemly contention for gain. A love for the monastic orders had always been manifested. While living, men wished to befriend and endow them ; and when dying, their wish had been to rest in clay hallowed by so many members of the brotherhood. This feeling had been as old as Christianity. St. Cyprian made it a matter of charge against Martialis, a Spanish Bishop, that Christians

' Expoliati fratribus nativis et aliis, et malis moribus corrupti.—  
Hib. Dom. p. 76.

were buried in profane sepulchres.<sup>g</sup> The dying desire of St. Ambrose was to be buried near the holy martyrs. In the early ages of the Christian Church, none, except the martyrs and apostles, found a place in the church under the altar.<sup>h</sup> In the course of time, however, Emperors, and the specially favored, were glad to find a resting place even in the porch of the temple. They were glad to serve as porters to the fishermen.<sup>i</sup> But since the Council of Mentz, in 813, though the privilege was denied to the mass of the people, Kings, clergymen, and other eminent men, were allowed burial in churches. Thenceforward, the privilege was being extended, till, in the thirteenth century, it was sanctioned by law.<sup>k</sup> There was a fondness then, in the fifteenth century, as I said, for the monasteries as burial places. But as the burial-proceeds were a source of revenue to the churches in which the interment took place, the secular clergy felt jealous of the preference often given to the monasteries.<sup>l</sup> The monasteries could not be denied the right

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 68.

<sup>h</sup> The ancient Canons in legislating on burial ground taught that a holy passage could not be affected by any burial place, and that a bad death could not be retrieved by a holy place of sepulture. But the fervor of prayers was increased, by being recommended to the martyrs. —Thomassinus de vet et nova eccles. discip.,—Pars. iii. B. i. ch. 68.—St. Augustine de cura pro mortuis.—Pars. ii. liv. i. ch. lxix.

<sup>i</sup> Durandus. Rationale, Liber, i. ch. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Bingham, Book xxiii. ch. i. p. 26.

<sup>l</sup> There was a contention between the Prior and Canons of Lanthony on one hand, and the Canons of St. Patrick's on the other hand. It referred to burial in Palmerston. King Henry granted it to the Bishop's Church in Lanthony. He enjoined, however, four marks to be given to the Vicar of Palmerston. The Vicar, at the same time, was to pay five shillings to the prebend of Glauwilliam. For, to it the Canons of St. Patrick contended that Palmerston belonged. Whereas the greater

of giving interment to all, who, dying in communion with the Church, wished for a resting place in them. Such a right was guaranteed by both Clement the Fourth and Sixtus the Fourth. If the Irish clergy, then, did not deny the right of sepulture among the friars, at least they claimed the canonical revenues accruing from it. The mendicant orders would not yield up their right. The Primate, Octavian, called a synod at Drogheda. Its decision was in favor of the orders. The Bishop of Meath made known the resolution of the synod to the clergy of his diocese.

After speaking of the attempts made to trench on the rights of the regulars, he said, "that the friars, saving the rights of the churches from which the corpse is taken, can, without leave of any person, advance processionally, with a cross, into the parishes, in which the corpse may have been; and take up the corpse; and carry it to be buried in their own church, wherever such a custom prevails, or where the priests required for taking it out refuse to do so. The friars may not be compelled or the relations of the deceased, to carry the corpse to the cathedral churches, or to any other place, and are not bound to give any of the goods of the deceased, directly or indirectly, by any general or special law;

Lanthyony maintained that Palmerston belonged to Garristown, to which itself laid claim.—See Alan's Register, T.C.D.

Down to the fifteenth century, the fourth part of the goods was set apart as a mortuary. The reader may be curious to see an inventory of goods given in the fifteenth century. William Gory deceased left viii acres of corn, price each 6s.; viii acres of barley, each 3s.; 4 cows, 3s. each; iv oxen, 18s. each; 1 steer, at 20d.; ii little pigs, at 6d.; v lambs at 6d.; x heifers 20s.; iii jars and 2 patens, 5s. All amounted to £6 9s. 8d. The funeral quarters came to 43s. 4d. Some of it was given to the Church.—Octavian's Register.

no matter by what name the goods go by, whether called a canonical or parochial portion, provided, however, that the corpse was buried with them. However, in reference to cases not contemplated, in which the funeral portion was to be paid, all good honest agreements entered into between the regulars on one side, and the Bishop and Parish Priests on the other, should be observed for the future, as well as the said privileges, through the entire province."<sup>m</sup> But this decision, as we shall see hereafter, did not set at rest the question of burial.

<sup>m</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 8 .

## CHAPTER XV.

"IN the year 1497, the guardian of the friars minors, and the Bishop Cathal Maguire, acting under the orders of Pope Alexander VI. closed the Purgatory of Saint Patrick."<sup>a</sup> Through all ages of Christianity, a spirit of pilgrimage followed a spirit of penance. Because the former is only one of the many phases which the latter assumes. Places rendered sacred by the presence of, or associations connected, with God's holy servants have always been visited with veneration. Over and above the advantages to be derived from any work done in the spirit of penance, done from a supernatural motive, this additional good resulted from a visit to holy places, that more fervor was felt, more helps got by the intercession of the saints in whose honor the pilgrimage was undertaken. Acts of pilgrimage, through the merits of Christ, have an atoning nature ; procure many graces for the soul, and even sometimes a miraculous cure for the ills of the body. Aurelius Prudentius, the glory of Christian poets, and to whom we are indebted for the beautiful hymn, "Salvete flores Martyrum," paid a visit to Rome, and at the tomb of the martyrs prayed for the healing of wounds.<sup>b</sup> Saint

<sup>a</sup> Annals of Ulster.

<sup>b</sup> Hymns, ii. iii. p. 311.

Augustine too, recommended the like conduct.<sup>c</sup> Has not St. Jerome made the Christian world ring with encomiums on the pilgrimages of Paula the illustrious descendant of the Scipios, and the Gracchi? The spirit of Christianity inspires a love of penance: And a more penitential spirit was not displayed by any people in Europe, than by the Irish. Before their visits to Rome, to Compostella, or Jerusalem, they visited in a spirit of devotion every place of pilgrimage in their own land. But of all the pilgrimages in Ireland, none was at all comparable for its renown, and the numbers thronging thither, as St. Patrick's Purgatory. There was a time, and pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory was scarcely less famous than that to Compostella. Though for a long time, it was supposed by many to be traceable to the Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, as if discovered by him, and sanctified by his prayers and miracles,<sup>d</sup> yet later critics attribute it to another of the same name, who lived several hundred years after the glorious Apostle.<sup>e</sup> Accordingly, agreeably to a probable opinion,

<sup>c</sup> Tom. ii. p. 184. Bened. Ed. "Though God be in every place," he says, "yet it is not everywhere in which God works the same wonders as at the relics of his famous servant, St. Felix of Nola."

<sup>d</sup> Many, including Dr. Rothe, and the author of "*Hibernia Dominicana*," and Colgan, attributed it to St. Patrick. The latter, to meet the objection, that it was said to be founded by Patrick junior, said, that there had been a Patrick before the Apostle, and that the Apostle was consequently Patrick junior. In the twelfth century there had been an office in commemoration of this Purgatory. The hymns and nine lessons were occupied in detailing the nature of the Purgatory.

<sup>e</sup> Dr. Kelly, the translator of "*Cambrensis Eversus*"; Dr. Lanigan, Bollandist (*Acta SS. March.*) There are only a few words in the old office of St. Patrick which, in any way, allude to the Purgatory. "*Hic est doctor benevolus, Hibernicorum Apostolus, cui loca purgatoria*



the Purgatory was so called from an Abbot who lived in the eighth century. Or what I deem no less probable, the Purgatory took its rise from the fast and pilgrimages which St. Patrick went through at Croagh Phadruig in Connaught. However, the so called Purgatory of St. Patrick lay in Ulster.

In the southern part of Donegal,<sup>f</sup> lies a lake some twelve miles in circumference. It was situated amid mountains and moorland. That lake is called Lough Derg. It was so called, as the legend tells, because a formidable serpent, the terror of all and the death of some, was sent bleeding and dying into the lake by Saint Patrick. This reddened the lake. Hence it was christened "Lough Derg."<sup>g</sup> Several islets dot the lake. But two principally attract notice. Any of the two is a spot, where the anchorite or penitent may wish to retire. For, there, cut off from all intercourse with his fellow-man, he could indulge his love of retirement. He could, as many of the Saints did, punish his body by descending into the water. He had ample facilities for working his imagination into a lively representation of the gloomy caverns of the damned. This facility was afforded by spending some time in subterranean passages.<sup>h</sup> There were two principal islands. One was called Saint Dahore's, the other Station island. In the former, from

*ostendit Dei gratia.*" And though the journies of St. Patrick are minutely described in the old lives, there is no mention of a remarkable stay, if any at all, at Lough Derg.

<sup>f</sup> Ware places it in Fermanagh.

<sup>g</sup> Hib. Dom. p. 5. Wright, ch. i.

<sup>h</sup> Some apply to those passages communicating with the ocean, these lines of Claudian in Rufinus—"Est locus, extremum pandit, qua Gallia littus; Oceani prætentus aquis qui fertur Ulysses," &c.

the earliest ages, was a religious house of much repute for sanctity. After the twelfth century, it became a house of Augustinian canons. St. Dabeoc's island was connected by a wooden bridge with the main land.<sup>1</sup> The other, Station island, about a mile distant from shore, was three quarters of an Irish acre in extent. In this, at least from the sixteenth century,<sup>k</sup> lay the "Purgatory." To this spot there came those, who wished to be peculiarly penitential. By degrees the fame of the pilgrimage extended. But it was not till about the middle of the twelfth century, that it became an object of interest to all Europe. It happened in the following manner.

In the wars of king Stephen, there was an Irish knight named Owen. Even for a soldier, his life was rather disorderly and criminal. He had to accuse himself as well of robbery, of sacrilege, of cruelty, as of many deeds of blood. Stricken in conscience, he applied for leave to visit Lough Derg, and descend to St.

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Map. See "Cambrensis Eversus," edited by Rev. Father Kelly of Maynooth, Vol. I.

<sup>k</sup> I say, at *least* from the sixteenth century. Because, I am inclined to think, that always, the cave or Purgatory had been on Station island. So thought Gerald Barry (Topographia, ch. 5), who wrote in a few years after the narration of Henry of Saltery. Ware was of the same opinion. Wright thinks that it was not in Station island always, and has no better reason for his opinion, than that the Priests, from selfish motives, found the distant island more likely to impress the pilgrims with awe, than the nearer island. Several in the seventeenth century, doubted if the Purgatory had been in Station island, only because the cave had been closed up by Pope Alexander VI. But the closing up of the cave happened because the Purgatory was supposed to have been a pure imposture; and not because it was in one, rather than another island.

**Patrick's Purgatory.** The narrative of the knight's descent, and of the visions with which he was punished and blessed, was thrown into form by Henry of Saltry in 1153.<sup>1</sup> Owen presented himself to the Bishop of the place, who, as usual, endeavoured to impress him with a sense of the severity, and danger of the undertaking ; and thereby to dissuade him from it. Then the pilgrim was sent to the Prior. He too, so far from encouraging the attempt, used all means to dissuade him from it. The disposition to brave all continued in Owen. Even then, fifteen days were devoted to prayer and fasting in the Church, for the purpose of testing the firmness of the pilgrim's resolve, and invoking the blessing of heaven on the pilgrimage. After this, mass was usually said ; the holy communion administered ; the candidate for the pilgrimage sprinkled with holy water ; and every necessary instruction given. The penitent pilgrim was led in a procession formed of the religious. He was conducted to the mouth of the cave. The litanies were sung. And if even then the purpose of the pilgrim did not change, he was sent into the cave with the benedictions of the Church. No wonder that such precautions were used. For it was said, that some of the pilgrims descending to the cave never returned alive.<sup>m</sup>

The Prior made fast the door of the cave after the descent of Owen. For some time he groped his way in darkness, and then twilight appears. He found himself in a large cloistered hall. In it were fifteen men

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris. *Historia Major*. ad. an. 1153.

<sup>m</sup> If, as conjectured by the Spanish critic Feijoo, and others, it was the cave of Ulysses, it is not surprising that the bodies carried away by the ebbing tide were never found.

clothed in white garments. From the tonsure, or shaven head, he judged them to be religious. One of them, preparing him for the attacks of the evil spirits, impressed on him the necessity of calling on the powerful name of Jesus to his aid, sinful knight as he was. He was left alone; but before long, a most stunning noise was heard. He fancied, if all the trees of the forest were dashed at once against each other, and all the Cyclopean rocks of the earth shivered by one simultaneous shock, and this amid the loudest thunder, that nothing in point of deafening noise in comparison would have been produced. Awful figures appeared before the knight. They exhibited the most sickening contortions of body. They welcomed him to a place, where, they said, his sins deserved to bring him. They prepared a bed of blazing pitch for him. But he remembered the prayer of the ecclesiastic in the dim hall, and as he uttered it, the spirits fled. On *their* disappearance, another group of evil spirits appeared. They led the knight to a country of intense cold, and savage wildness. There he heard the cry, and saw the tortures, of an infinite number of both men and women. And this was the first field of punishment.

Through three other fields he was led. In these he saw souls undergoing the most terrible punishment. Some fastened to the ground, on the back, by large stakes, and fed on by a vast number of toads, suffered inexpressible torments. Others hung up in a fiery space, or roasted on a spit, and basted with boiling lead, endured what baffles all description. From scalding pits, into one of which he well nigh fell, the pilgrim knight was conducted to a lake of intense cold. In this too numberless souls were tortured. He was then

brought to the mouth of hell, a fiery pit. There souls, like chaff in the wind, were whirled about. Afterwards, he was conducted to a bridge spanning water of inky blackness, in which rolled toads of ugliest shape. To the great risk of falling into the noisome pool, he passed over the narrow bridge. By praying earnestly to God he got over safely. On the opposite side confronted him a well of glassy appearance and reaching to the clouds. A gate set with gems and precious pearls was fixed in the resplendent wall. The ravishing sight made Owen forget all his sufferings, or think them as nothing. An imposing procession approached. Priests, and Bishops, and Religious clothed in their respective dresses composed it. Hermits and Nuns too swelled the glorious group; and all poured forth strains of matchless melody. There too moved kings, and emperors, and powerful lords. One and all, laic and cleric, were in ecstasies of joy. They conducted the knight to the several points of interest and beauty. The place was no other than the terrestrial paradise. So much in love with the place did the knight become, that he did not wish to leave it for evermore. But he was assured by the Bishops, that it was necessary for him to return to earth. On returning he found the fifteen ecclesiastics met on his first descent into the cave, who foretold all the events of his future life. Coming to the door of the cave on the next day he was met by the prior and canons, who congratulated him on his safe return. He spent fifteen days with them. During that time he gave a full account of his adventures.<sup>n</sup> The cave, into

<sup>n</sup> See the story in full, in Matthew Paris. O'Sullivan's Catholic History. Wright on St. Patrick's Purgatory.

which the pilgrim descended was in length sixteen and a-half feet. In breadth it was two feet one inch. The walls were made of freestone. Large flags covered with green sods roofed the cave.\* Some twelve or fourteen persons may be crushed into it. In after times, to afford a light to those who were bound to read the breviary, a window was set at the end of the cave. On this island, beds or cells dedicated to several saints, were enclosed by walls three feet high. Within these cells, before descent to the cave, a vast amount of prayers was said.<sup>†</sup> The cave was north of the Church on the island, and still more northerly were the beds. They were called after Saints Patrick, Bridget, Columba, Brendan, Molaisre, Catherine, and Dabeoc.

The visions of Purgatory and the terrestrial paradise experienced by Owen were expected by all those who submitted to the pilgrimage. It is not unlikely, that the founder of the purgatory in the eighth century, went through the purgatory with great benefit to his soul, without, at the same time, experiencing any of the visions spoken of in later ages. And it is very likely, that an excited imagination, or busy fame, converted the visions into a representation of both the earthly paradise and of purgatory.<sup>‡</sup> At all events, the fame of the purgatory spread. In 1358, Edward III. gave testimonials to two knights, to certify their manly descent to St. Patrick's purgatory. One was a nobleman from

\* Ware's Antiquities, p. 97, 98. Giraldus Cambrensis says that only nine persons could be received at the same time in the cave.

† Ware's Antiquities, p. 98.

‡ Cæsar Heisterback (de Miraculis, lib. xii. ch. 38) says, "Whoever doubts of Purgatory, let him go to Ireland, visit St. Patrick's Purgatory, and his doubts will be removed."

Hungary, Malatesta. The other, Nicholas de Biccariis, was a Lombard.<sup>r</sup> Some time later, Raymund, Viscount of Perilhos, Knight of Rhodes, chamberlain to the King of France, obtained from Richard II. a safe conduct to the purgatory.<sup>s</sup> In the following century, in 1409, after due preparation, Sir William Staunton descended to the cave. His account of his temptation, and of the punishment which he saw the wicked undergo, is, in many particulars, more minute than that given by Owen. It runs through several hundred pages.

While the fame of Lough Derg was extending year after year; while it brought the remorseful sinner, the penitential ascetic, and the brave knight from afar; while the noblest poets derived inspiration from it;<sup>t</sup> while several versions of the narrative of Henry of Saltry appeared in French and in English, an event occurred, which, in 1497, for a time, eclipsed the renown of St. Patrick's Purgatory. For the purpose of going through the pilgrimage, a monk from Eymstadt, in Holland, came to Lough Derg. He applied to the Prior for admission. The Prior referred him to the Bishop. For leave to go through the pilgrimage, the Bishop required the usual toll. It was applied to the repairs of the church. Though demanding the usual tribute, the Bishop did not insist on it. Though leave was given, it was given with a bad grace. This rendered the monk censorious. He entered the Purgatory; but did not find it to correspond either with the description given, or the expectations formed of it. There were no visions of torture, no glimpses of bliss. It was

<sup>r</sup> Rymer fœdera, Vol. IV. p. 408.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> It is thought that Dante caught the idea of the "*Divina Comedia*" from the Purgatory. From it, Calderon, in the seventeenth century, borrowed the chief incidents for a play. From it was taken the plot of the Italian Romance, "*Guerino detto il meschino*."

an every day, painful exercise. The monk hastened to Rome, represented the purgatory as an imposture; and he was the more inclined to do so, because of the exactions of the Bishop." In consequence of his representation, Pope Alexander the Sixth issued orders to the Prior of Donegal to have the purgatory suppressed. Accompanied by some persons deputed by the Bishop, the Prior closed the cave on Patrick's day in the year 1497.

Just as it may be safely advanced, that St. Patrick, the Apostle, was not the founder of the Purgatory, so without the charge of heresy, might it be maintained that the visions spoken of before, and after the twelfth century, were creatures of the imagination.\* Not of course, that the devout believer may not expect the interposition of providence, as often as its vindication was necessary. Not that we have not the highest authority, in fact the authority of St. Augustine and Saint Gregory, for the credibility of visions in the apostolic and subsequent times. But as I said, if we make allowance for the difference of ceremonies in the twelfth century from those in the present day, it is not improbable that the effects from a visit to the Purgatory, then, were not different from what takes place at the present day. At the same time, the penitential exercises

\* "Adiit Episcopum, et quoniam pauper, erat, vix a ministris admissus est Provolutusque genibus Episcopi petiit sibi licentiam intrandi purgatorium Sancti Patricii. Episcopus vero petiit summum pecuniæ, quæ ab intrantibus jure sibi debere dicebat."—Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. II. 590.

† Feijoo implies (*Theatro Critico*, Vol. VII. p. 156, and referred to by the accomplished Editor of *Cambrensis Eversus*) that the story of the purgatory rests on the "baseless fabric of a vision." The learned Bollandist, speaking of the purgatory, says, "*Hibernia fabulis poetarum facilis ad credendum.*"



of the sixteenth century at the Purgatory were *substantially* the same as now. Nine days were the usual length of the pilgrimage. During that time, the pilgrim lived on barley-bread without condiment—without the condiment even of salt. The drink was water from the lake. The pilgrim proceeded barefooted to the Church of St. Patrick. He moved seven times around the church inside, and as many times outside, while praying in the cemetery. The same process took place at each of the seven beds or oratories. By the way, the seven-fold circuit inside was gone through on the knees. Then in prayer he moved round two crosses. One of them was in the cemetery, the other was fixed in a mound of stones. Thence he proceeded by a rough flinty way, to the border of the lake,\* where St. Patrick was said to have prayed—there too prayer was gone through. And after singing the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Creed, the pilgrim closed the station. The station was gone through three times daily: in the morning, in noon, and in evening. Such exercises were practiced for seven days. On the eighth day, the stations were gone through six times. On the ninth day, the pilgrim went to confession and communion; received instruction and exhortation from the prior; entered the cave; and remained there in fasting and prayer for twenty-four hours. Though the last twenty-four hours were spent in the cave, yet it was optional with one to spend them in the Church. It is needless to say, that the intervals between the painful stations at morning, noon, and night, were filled up by hearing mass, sermon, by vigils, by morning and night prayers, and by preparation for confession. So much so, that

\* Messingham "Florilegium." Rothe. De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 5, says, that the pilgrim by going through each station travelled two miles.

together with the fifteen decades of the rosary three times a day, the Lord's Prayer and Creed were said daily two hundred times.

In the last century, the vigil of the pilgrimage was kept in the chapel—called the prison—at the *close*, but at present, it is kept on the *opening*, of the station. In the middle of the last century, the time for pilgrimage was during the months May, June and July. The pilgrims slept on hay or straw, without a pillow. If the head were protected, the pilgrim was satisfied with a chance covering.\* The season for pilgrimage now opens by order of the Bishop on the first of June, and closes on the fifteenth of August. On the first view of the island by the pilgrims, a prayer is said; and on pushing from shore at the close of the pilgrimage, a farewell to Lough Derg is sung out. The boatman pays the landlord, as yearly rent, two or three hundred pounds. The average number of pilgrims, during the last month, is estimated at about one thousand daily.

But I return to the suppression of the Purgatory by order of Alexander VI. After a short time, notwithstanding its suppression, in all likelihood the people visited the Purgatory. They visited it, not as a medium by which to catch glimpses of another world, but as a place admirably adapted for penitential exercises. The humblest Catholics knew, no matter how or at what time founded, no matter what extravagant notions may have been entertained abroad of it, that the Purgatory was a place, where fitly may be put in practice, what forms an integral part of Catholic belief. The humblest Irish boy or girl felt, that devotion to particular Saints, and prayer, and mortification of the flesh, and

\* De Burgo visited the purgatory in the middle of last century, and says, that for severity, it is without a parallel in the Christian world.—Hib. Dom. p. 550. ch. xv.

the escape of Purgatorial punishment in a middle state in the next life, incurred by venial sin, or by the temporary punishment due to mortal sin, after the eternal guilt was forgiven—for attaining all these ends, the Catholic felt that Lough Derg afforded peculiar facilities. It was therefore resorted to by the pilgrims. Even Rome relented. The Popes saw no reason, though fame attributed effects to the Purgatory, which need not have been, or perhaps never were experienced, why that which formed an essential part in the Catholic system should be discountenanced.

As to what person founded the Purgatory, or what toll was exacted, was a matter of pure accident; but it was found to be very illogical, for the sake of pruning the luxuriance to fell the venerable oak. This view was seconded, if not suggested, by the Reformation. The heretics would point to the suppression of the Purgatory by Rome, as Popery self-condemned. So Rome again took the Purgatory under its protection. Popes indulgenced it.<sup>7</sup> Still, in the desecration of every thing sacred and venerable, the Purgatory did not escape. The cells and cave were destroyed by government. Protestant settlers were planted in the neighbourhood, and though they placed as many impediments as possible to all approach to it, yet it kept its hold on the religious feelings of the people. It was not beneath the notice of government to step forward, and exert its influence for the suppression of the Purgatory.<sup>8</sup> The Lord Justice Richard Boyle, in 1632 forced the friars to leave the island; caused their house

<sup>7</sup> Messingham Florilegium.

<sup>8</sup> The friars in charge of it in the seventeenth century were Franciscans. I am not aware, that the Augustinian Canons since 1497 had any concern of it.

to be thrown down; and the cells to be broken up. Yet so much was the *Nuncio Nunziati* affected by its ancient renown and hallowed associations, that he determined, at any risk, to march and rescue it from the pollution of the heretic.\* In the second year of queen Anne it became an object of legislation. "All pilgrimages, especially to a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, were declared riotous. Orders were issued to all the sheriffs and magistrates to enforce the law against offenders. But such enactments only added a stimulant to the religious impulse, which drove people thither. It became as popular a place for pilgrimage as ever. Even abroad, it recovered some of its ancient renown. It became a subject in the hands of the religious dramatist, to enforce sacred truths.<sup>b</sup> It called forth a panegyric from one of the most austere Popes in the eighteenth century.<sup>c</sup> Despite enactments and misrepresentations, it has kept its ground, and will keep it, as long as usefulness in the invocation of saints, a belief in a future purgatorial state, and the utility of penitential works, form an integral portion of Catholic doctrine.

\* *Nunziatura*, p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> In the seventeenth century, Calderon made the Purgatory a subject for a dramatic performance.

<sup>c</sup> Benedict XIII. while Cardinal Archbishop of Benevento, preached up pilgrimage to Lough Derg. He took as his text these words, "Eructabo abscondita a constitutione mundi."

## CHAPTER XVI.

IN the beginning of the sixteenth century the Irish, for the most part, found themselves in the same state in reference to laws and civilization, as they were at the coming of the English. Because the English laws and habits did not prevail to an extent of more than twenty miles.<sup>a</sup> This, whether for good or for ill, was not altogether, if much at all, to be laid to the account of the Irish. For before they could experience the least benefit of English law, they had to crave, had to buy it.<sup>b</sup> However, there was a turn of mind, a grace about them, which was not owing to the Anglo-Irish, and which they could not take away. This was a love for the monastic orders. In every past century we saw numbers of religious houses rise up and overspread the land. And though one might suppose, that the religious disinterested spirit of our fathers may have sufficiently shown and satisfied itself, yet we find it energizing in the sixteenth century. Accordingly during the few years devoted to this chapter, several religious houses were founded. There were founded in 1504, at Dublin, an hospital for poor from certain parishes, by Allen Dean of St. Patrick's.<sup>c</sup> In 1528 near Galway, was founded a house for Augustinians by Stephen Lynch.<sup>d</sup> In Creevelea, County Leitrim, was founded a house for

<sup>a</sup> The Pale was confined to four shires.—Cox, Hib. Anglic. ad. an. 1521, Sir John Davies.—Leland, B. iii.

Spenser, State of Ireland, p. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Archdall.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

strict observant Franciscans, by Mary O'Brien.\* In 1509, at Balliruarck, County Sligo, or Leitrim, was founded a house of the third order of St Francis by the wife of Eugene O'Ruark.<sup>†</sup> In 1512, at Slane, County Meath, was founded a house of the third order of St. Francis by Fleming and Eliza Stukely.<sup>‡</sup> In 1518, at Ballyguarcy, County Leitrim, a house for conventual Franciscans was founded by Cornelius O'Brien.<sup>§</sup> At Armagh was founded a house for reformed Franciscans.<sup>||</sup> In 1521 at Ardagh the minors were reformed by the strict observants.<sup>¶</sup> In 1530 at Liscavil, County Fermanagh, Franciscans were established by Maguire.<sup>||</sup> In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, in County Antrim, Bunamargy, Mauvin and Limbeg were made houses of the third order of St Francis.<sup>m</sup>

But it was not so much for the number of pious foundations, the early part of the sixteenth century was remarkable, as for the spirit of reformation, the spirit of devotional pilgrimage. Not that there had been or

\* Archdall.    † Ware. Alemand.    ‡ Ware. Alem. Archdall.

§ Liber Munerum, Archdall.    || Archdall, Annals of Four Masters.

¶ Archdall.    || Ware. Alem. Liber Munerum.

m Alem. Mention is made sometimes of the third order of St. Dominick; but it cannot be understood as an independent religious order as the third order of St. Francis. Those of the third order of St. Dominic, unlike the conventuals or observants of the third order of St. Francis were under the same superior as the other Dominicans.—Hib. Dominicana, p. 342. For the erection of a religious house, as for that of a Bishopric, leave from Rome was required. Thus in 1434 Eugene IV. issued a diploma in reference to the convent of Urlaco (Achonry) built without leave, and absolved persons from any censures incurred thereby. He invested the house with the usual privileges. The law to that effect was made by the predecessor of Eugene, Pope Boniface the eighth. In consequence of a like disregard of the law with regard to the convent of Burishool (Mayo) Innocent VIII. issued apostolic letters in 1485, by which he granted full privileges to the house.—Hib. Dom. page 321.

could be a change in doctrine. There had been an effort made to raise the tone of morals and bring all local national usages into harmony with general discipline. In 1511 and in 1514, provincial councils were held in Limerick. In 1513 at the council of Constance, the Irish Church was represented by O'Fihely styled "Flos Mundi," the flower of the world. In 1529 a provincial council was held by Dr. Butler; and in 1523 was held a sort of national council to which the provinces of Cashel, Armagh and Tuam sent their Bishops.<sup>n</sup> An effort was made to restore primitive fervor and regularity to the religious orders. One, however, must carefully distinguish between a reformation of discipline and the reformation or rather revolution in faith, which would altogether upset the Church of God. The Franciscan Convents of Armagh, and Waterford, and Cavan, with many others, underwent a reform.<sup>o</sup> Actively alive was the spirit of penitential pilgrimage. In 1501, Edmund Burke, of Clanricard, returned from pilgrimage to Compostella; and Daniel O'Higgins, chief professor of poetry, after returning from a like pilgrimage died.<sup>p</sup> In 1507 James Barry of Cork accompanied by crowds of his people went to Spain on the pilgrim's mission.<sup>q</sup> In 1510, Hugh O'Donnell, to the great sadness of his friends, went on a pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>r</sup> Felix Maguire in 1518, after a year's pilgrimage to Spain died.<sup>s</sup> But the reader must not imagine that holy places, peculiarly intended for prayer and pilgrimage at home were neglected. There was not a spot, all the land over, hallowed by the memorial or associations of some saint, to which the

<sup>n</sup> Harris' Bishops, p. 482. 615.

<sup>o</sup> Alem.

<sup>p</sup> Annals of the Four Master.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

spirit of devotion did not bear the pilgrim. One of the many severe and curious pilgrimages which took place may be found in the registries of Armagh. Under the influence of transient anger, the father caused the death of the son. But sharp was the penance which he underwent. His name was *Æneas M'Michael*. In the spirit of pilgrimage "he visited Struhmolyn in Regter-lacgan in Patre Kewan; also the bed of Cayn,<sup>†</sup> in Glendaloch; also Ross Hyllery O'Garbre, in the country of M'Carbre Rewa,<sup>‡</sup> which was the principal purgatory there; also Skellig Neeghyll in the country of M'Carthy-more; also Arayn Nenaw;<sup>§</sup> also Cuoque Brennan in the country of Knight of Kerry; also the Shrine of Saints Flannan and M'Eaoge in Munster; also the Comttum of St. Patrick in Connaught, in Hymaile; also the purgatory of St. Patrick at Lough Derg, in O'Donnell's country; also Errisskworgan of St. Gworen Anmerrys Donmyl in Connaught; also Carnan-Creagh in the country of M'Swiney; Tyrebane in the country of O'Donnell; also the Holy Cross at Waghterlawan in Ormond country; also Carry Cassell; also O'Dwyne at Sawyl; and Craen yssa (Iosa), and Struyl." After going through this painful circuit, the pilgrim was reserved for another course of penance. When the several pilgrimages were gone through, the penitentiary of Armagh certified that the penitential spirit of the church was carried out."

Hand in hand with a love of penance and pilgrimage, went a fondness for the religious profession. Saunders Lynch, and Anastasia, his wife, enrolled themselves at Monte Fernandi, in 1521, in the third order of St.

<sup>†</sup> Kevin.

<sup>‡</sup> Ruadh, (red.)

<sup>§</sup> Aran of the Saints, Airin na naoimh.

<sup>¶</sup> See Dowdall's Register, p. 69.



Francis.<sup>a</sup> In 1527, Gilla Riavach O'Clery entered the Franciscan Convent of Donegal.<sup>y</sup> In 1528, O'Rourke, Lord of Breffny, and Finola, daughter of O'Brien, died in the habit of St. Francis.<sup>z</sup> In 1529, M'Sweeny, Lord of Fanad, died in the habit of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>a</sup> The O'Donnell died in 1537 in the order of St. Francis. But notwithstanding the display of the heroic virtues, in many instances, there were, especially within the pale, serious drawbacks. It cannot be denied, indeed, that synods were of frequent occurrence. They took place yearly, and often in the year. But they are mentioned in the registers as taking place "among the English." The purity and simplicity of the age considered, the number of cases of divorce coming before the ecclesiastical courts had been astounding. Of course, the invalidity of the marriage contract from the beginning was the ground taken in applying for a divorce. Besides, in the synods, there had been occasional legislation against concubinage. But, laics or ecclesiastics, the Anglo-Irish could not rid themselves of jealousy and distrust of the native clergy. The Archbishop of Armagh is summoned to Parliament. For some reason he does not feel disposed to go. So far, however, from wishing to be represented by some dignitaries of the diocese, that he strongly recommended the non-summoning of the dean or chapter of Armagh. The insuperable objection he entertained to their presence in Parliament, was that they lived among, and on friendly terms with, the Irish.<sup>b</sup> A greater mistake could not be than

<sup>a</sup> Hardiman, *Iar Connaught*, p. 2. I cannot see on what grounds, the editor of the Register of All Hallows asserted, that Mullifernan on the supposition that there was no mount in Galway, was at Drogheda rather than in Galway.—Monte Fernandi.

<sup>y</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*.

<sup>z</sup> *Ibid.* by J. O'D.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Octavian's Register*, vol. ii.

to suppose, that previous to the Reformation (or schism of Henry VIII.) the Irish Church enjoyed halcyon days. No, the prison, the rack, the sword, all the perverse ingenuity of the penal code, did not endanger that Church as much as the disunion between the ecclesiastics of the old Irish, and the ecclesiastics of the pale. More welcome, then, than a recurrence of such disunion, should be the fiercest persecution which would unite the members of the same Church by ties of mutual aid and sympathy. Because, on the same soil were two parties, each averse from imitating what was good, but too prone to adopt what was bad in the other. This spirit of isolation, the absence of sympathy, were exhibited, not only between the laics, but even the ecclesiastics of both sides. Hence the annual ecclesiastical meetings of the Primate of Armagh—who, surely, showed zeal in the convocation of synods—went forth, and were chronicled down under the title “Councils among the English.”

Representing only a narrow sphere, and confining their influence, perhaps, within a still narrower compass, the councils were conducted with order and regularity. As a specimen, let me select one held in 1533; and it will be the last which I shall notice. Due notice was given of the day on which the council was to be held. The day came, and the ecclesiastics met. Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Primate. A sermon too was preached before the high altar. Afterwards, a procession formed, wound round the chapel; and returning to the place whence the procession moved, they sang the hymn “Veni Creator Spiritus.” The Bishop laying aside his pontificals, took his seat in a judicial manner. It was decreed that no priest under pretext of devotion to any saint, should

read an office in his honor, which was not given in the breviary, for the purpose of escaping the ferial offices, during the months of February, March and April. However an exception was made in honor of St. Patrick's festival. Futhermore, it was decreed that, the feast of the translation of St. Mary Magdalene should be celebrated as a feast of nine lessons, on the 14th of the Kalends of April; that the feast of St. Columba should be celebrated, but not as a double, on the 5th of the Ides of June; that the feasts of the translation of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, should be celebrated as a double on the day following the feast of St. Columba; that the feast of the translation of St. Edmund, Bishop and Confessor, should be celebrated with nine lessons on the Ides of June; that there should be as often as convenient a weekly commemoration of St. Bridget; and that all were to abstain from servile work on the feasts of SS. Patrick, Columba, Bridget, and Malachy. The feast of St. Malachy was kept on the day after All Souls' day. Each priest was bound to be provided with a copy of the statutes before the feast of St. Peter "Ad Vincula." They were to be read twice a year to the people: on a Sunday in August, and on a Sunday in March. Whoever failed to do so was fined forty pence.\*

Exclusive as was the spirit manifested by the Anglo-Irish Church in Armagh, it was still more so in Dublin. Because the latter may be looked on as the heart of the Pale. No part of the Church comes before us, as the scene of such unseemly contention as the city of Dublin. In that place where the majesty of the law was most strikingly exhibited, and where a standard may be expected to be set up for the guidance of ruder districts,

\* Cromer's Register.

there occurred the last of the many disedifying disputes between laics and ecclesiastics, which I shall notice—It throws light as well on the habits of the people, as on the discipline and revenue of the Church. The dispute took place between the monks of St. Thomas's Dublin, and some of the justices. The monks were in the habit of exacting some tribute. The justices refused to pay it. The Abbey claimed some privileges, and the justices claimed exemption from their operations. However, the decision come to was, whenever there was a brewing to the amount of sixteen bushels, that tolboll or tribute of a gallon and a half should be paid to the monks ; and if twelve bushels, each containing sixteen gallons, were brewed, that a gallon and a-half of the second quality should be paid. Uninterrupted harmony did not come from this decision to the citizens and inmates of the Abbey. Because, in some three years afterwards in 1527, several matters were litigated between them. A trial came on, and a decision was come to. By it the mayors were warranted, without hindrance, to bring water into the city. The Abbey was bound to pay for its mills, eight bushels of corn, four pecks in wheat, and four in malt. The tribute awarded to the Abbey in 1524 had been confirmed. Leave was given to the abbey of St. Thomas, as to St. Mary's to possess a boat and a right to fish. One condition was put to this privilege: The fish was not to be sold. Furthermore, it was determined to grant to the mayor, to the aldermen, and to the bailiffs, a right of passage through the abbot's meadow. The mass of the people were bound to take the highway. Those privileged to pass through the meadow were bound to do as little damage as possible. Provided the province of the king's coroner were not trenched on, the abbot received full power, to correct all

trespass done either to his convent, or to the lands. And because there had been great trouble in gathering the rent of the fee-farm of the city, in pence and half-pence, the abbot was ordered to remit sixteen shillings and eight-pence, of the twenty marks yearly paid. In consideration of such payment the chapter house, over and above what it was bound to by its order, was under an obligation of saying, especially on all Souls' day, a *De Profundis* for the souls of the king, his ancestors, the aldermen and of the citizens of Dublin.<sup>d</sup>

The ministers of religion in Armagh or in Dublin, did not inspire the people either with respect or confidence. The dignitaries in the Church rivalled the great ones of the state, as well in magnificence, as in the pursuit of honor. Hence the people forgot that respect, which was due to the ministers of the Gospel. In 1503, the Earl of Kildare, in apologizing for burning the Cathedral of Cashel, said, he thought the Archbishop was in it.<sup>e</sup> Nor did the ecclesiastics themselves pay always the respect due to their superiors. The Archdeacon of Leighlin, Cavanagh, stands before us as the murderer of a man of good repute. That man was his Bishop.<sup>f</sup> That mischievous spirit of ex-

<sup>d</sup> Miscellany of I.A.S. p. 41. Prayers in the office for benefactors were not confined to Ireland. Cardinal Bona says, that when the number of benefactors became large, in every well-regulated community, instead of calling out their names, there had been substituted a chanting of the "*Profundis*," with a suitable prayer.—Bona, *de rebus liturgicis*, lib. ii. ch. 14. Book of Obits, Christ Church. There was an obligation of making a commemoration, in the offices, of the benefactors for a stated period, or for ever. But in all probability as the offices, were interrupted in the Irish Church, the "*De Profundis*" has been transferred to the mass.

<sup>e</sup> Ware.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Deoran when urged to lay heavy contributions on the people to meet the expenses he was at, answered, that his people may be fleeced but must not be flayed.—Ware's Annals.

clusion, which marked the first appearance of the Anglo-Irish Church, clung to it to the very last. To such a cause the Pope unfortunately lent the weight of his sanction. Leo the Tenth, in 1515, issued a bull, by which Irish ecclesiastics were excluded, though qualified by royal letters, from the church of St. Patrick. None, unless recommended, not by worth, but base compliance with government, may expect promotion. Hence the gloomy description given of ecclesiastics. "Some say that the prelates of the Church, and the clergy, are much the cause of all the disorder of the land; for there is no Archbishop, Bishop, abbot, prior, parson, vicar, no person in the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, who used to preach the word of God—saving the poor begging friars. And when the word of God do cease, there can be no grace; and without it this land may never be reformed."<sup>a</sup> The picture indeed may have been overdrawn, but considering that the Anglo-Irish Church made the priesthood a sort of hereditary caste, we can, without any tints from fiction, be prepared for a dark sketch. The dignitaries of the Church, as described in the state papers, were not very edifying. And such as they were, there was no disposition to give to them the vacant sees. The diocese of Leighlin was kept vacant for many years.<sup>b</sup> In 1516, the Archbishop of Armagh, without loss of dignity, prebend, or temporalities, got leave from the King to be absent in England as long as he wished. In 1523, with the like impunity, he got leave to be absent for a year and a-half.<sup>c</sup> From the unworthiness, or absence,

<sup>a</sup> State papers, part iii. vol ii.

<sup>b</sup> It was kept vacant, according to Ware, for four, according to Dowling's Annals, for six years.

<sup>c</sup> Old Rymer, *Liber munerum*.

of the pastors, the flock was neglected and scattered. What brought evils to a culminating point, was, the disputes between the regular and secular clergy. The question relative to the "funeral portion" was again ventilated. And though I touched on the matter before, still, as it became long after this, a source of disedifying contention, I will give a still fuller explanation of its nature.

The natural and canon law sanctioned to any individual, the right of choosing his own burial-place. Boniface VIII., Innocent III., Lucius III., and Sixtus IV. issued decrees in vindication of that right. Even the wife may choose a different place of sepulture from the husband.\* Those who chose for burial ground the cemeteries of religious houses, were promised indulgences.<sup>1</sup> Such indulgences, however, were not necessary to attract people to the monastic cemeteries. The holy monk—the mitred abbot—the rapt illuminated friar—rested there; and this was sufficient inducement to the faithful to yearn for a like resting place. As the funeral portion was a source of considerable revenue, and as the Pontiffs did not wish to see the secular clergy shorn of such revenue, they decreed that a due regard should be paid to the churches from which the corpses were carried. This decision was variously interpreted. Some by it understood half, others a fourth, and many a third of the funeral proceeds. But whatever was granted or claimed by the cathedral, or parochial church, went under the name of the "funeral quarters," or "canonical portion." This portion had reference not to bequests, but to the lights and the other apparatus necessary to the funeral service. The matter in dispute was referred to the Bishop of Cork

\* Hib. Dom. p. 88.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 89.

and Cloyne, who had been sub-procurator to the mendicant order. He decided in favor of the regulars. He published a decree to that effect. Another decree of a like nature followed from the Archbishop of Cashel, procurator to the order. And though for this time, the affair was set at rest, yet not long after, it became a matter of fierce contention.<sup>m</sup>

Monastic institutions played a most important part in the Irish Church. We can scarcely appreciate their services to religion. There may have been some exceptions; but on the whole, they were the great strongholds of science and religion. In a short time we shall see them fall before the attack of the vandalic plunderer. To give some notion of them, then, I will consider them in their material and moral constitution.

In nothing, neither in the arts or sciences or in religion, was the Irish Church so indebted to the stranger as in architecture. The buildings in the service of religion before the invasion of the English were of a very unpretending character in Ireland. The door was generally to the west; the windows were narrow, and splayed inwardly and always unglazed. Because glass, for purposes of glazing, was almost unknown.<sup>n</sup> The chevron or zig-zag moulding was occasionally in use.

<sup>m</sup> In reference to this matter, the Council of Trent, session 25, cap. 15, decreed, that when the "fourth portion" was paid to the Parochial Church, (not Episcopal Church, because the regulars were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction) for forty years back, dating from 1564, that the payment should be continued to the said Church. And this was to take effect, notwithstanding any privilege, or though it may have been given for pious uses or for hospitals. However, it was not to be paid by houses thenceforth to be founded. Houses were not to pay the funeral portion, which had not done so within forty years. The funeral portion did not include or concern bequests, or donations, or money for the celebration of masses, or the anniversary.—Sess. de Reformatione.

<sup>n</sup> Petric, Round Towers.—Leabhar na. h. Uidhre.



And though, in the eleventh century, the incidental pointed arch appeared, as in St. Mary's,<sup>o</sup> in Dublin, yet the door way was square ; or rather the jambs, the sides of the door somewhat inclined towards the top. And then the churches were small in dimensions, Seldom did they reach 60 feet in length, and never more. Poverty of spirit was displayed even in the service of God. There was a fear of magnificence. The churches built by St. Patrick being of a temporary nature, thrown up to meet the wants of the hour, were of a very unpretending character, The Church of Armagh did not much exceed 60 feet in length. But what was the effect of chance or necessity, or the creature of circumstances in St. Patrick's conduct was put down by his faithful followers, as the result of deep wisdom, or heavenly inspiration. Hence the dread of having any building of larger dimensions, than that of Armagh ; and seldom was it equalled. But much as the humble structures, and "dim religious light," showed and fostered a child-like devotional feeling, yet in an architectural point of view, the buildings were not striking. But by the coming of the Anglo-Norman was introduced the gothic architecture.<sup>p</sup> The chief characteristic of this was the pointed arch. There were several sorts of gothic. And each may have differed in details from the others, as the gothic itself did from another order. As in England, so in Ireland there were three styles of gothic. 1° The early English style. 2° The Ornate.

<sup>o</sup> Bell's Gothic Architecture.

<sup>p</sup> Some attribute the Gothic style to the Goths, and say that the idea of the arch was borrowed from the interlacing of the trees in the forest, with which they were familiar. Warburton, Sir James Ware, Fenelon, say it was Arabic modified by the Goths in Spain. Others trace it to the Saracens. While a large number see in the Gothic only a corruption of the Roman and Grecian styles.

3° The perpendicular or florid style. The characteristic of the first style was, that the arch of the window or the door formed an acute angle. It resembled a lance. Hence the window was called "lancet." The walls were thick ; the doors deeply recessed. There was a succession of columns, which supported an archivalt,<sup>a</sup> formed of plain mouldings.<sup>r</sup> Sometimes, on the top were grimacing heads. Two small doors beside the great western one were intended to symbolize the Trinity. When three lancets were used in a window, the centre lancet was most elevated. Though not common, yet the use of the three lancets was occasionally to be met with. This first style then prevailed from about 1190 to the end of the thirteenth century in ecclesiastical buildings. And from the beginning to the end of the fourteenth prevailed the second or decorated style. During this time, projecting bays, called Oriel windows were used. The walls of the church, and the columns were less massive than in the first style. The arch became less pointed. Some three lancets were not uncommon. And in the compartments of the windows trefoils and quatrefoils were used.<sup>s</sup> The third, the perpendicular or florid style, prevailed from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the sixteenth. Its chief characteristic was that the angle became obtuse, scarcely perceptible. The window became larger by the multiplication of

<sup>a</sup> Archivalt, was circular mouldings round an arch extending from capital to capital.—Glossary of terms.

<sup>r</sup> Mouldings were ornaments on the face of a wall or column.—Glossary.

<sup>s</sup> They were called from the oratories on which they were first used ; others think, they were so called, from Oriel College, Oxford, on which they were said to be for the first time used.

<sup>t</sup> Trefoil represented three leaves of a flower ; quatrefoil represented four leaves of a cruciform flower.—Glossary.

lancets. Sometimes, there were five, sometimes seven lancets. A horizontal transom ran dividing the window. The ornament about the arch and the columns was profuse. On account of the peculiar arrangement of the tracery on the window heads, the third style was called Perpendicular. Others contend, that it should have been called the horizontal. Because the arch became more depressed; the roof low pitched; the hood-moulds square; and the transoms horizontal.\*

The windows, or the mullions of the light,† instead of branching into flowing lines, are continued vertically to the Intrados.‡ Secondary mouldings, too, are continued in the same direction from the centre of each light, and converge once or twice before they reached the arch. Serpentine lines prevailed through the tracery of the perpendicular style. In the first style not only was the window of a lancet form; but there was a great simplicity about it. While the lancets increased in number during the second style, and increased the size of the window, the ornament too was much increased. It pervaded the tracery. And the groining, instead of having the timber simply interlace, got a rich ornamented appearance. The columns too partook of the same ornate character. The capitals became shorter, but richer in foliage. The buttresses became more projecting for the support of flying ones, which sprung from their summit. The columns became more elevated. The spires terminated in a top, with a bunch of foliage. In the third style the trefoil and quatrefoil gave way to rich luxuriant ornament. It is to be observed, that during the second style the orna-

\* See Nicholson's Cyclopædia of Architecture

† Mullion was a shaft of stone.—Glossary.

‡ Intrados was the interior curve of the arch.

ment reached from the spire to the very pavement. The tile and tessellated pavement were so curiously wrought, that in following the intricate meanderings of the volutes on a single block a few feet in diameter, one may travel more than a mile. Then, too, did the glass receive those various and beautiful and lasting colors, which made it, even after the lapse of ages, an object of admiration and envy to the most fastidious from the Continent.\* Table-tombs, too, not unfrequently were placed on the floor. Those in Kilkenny belonged to the Ormonds, Mountgarrets, and the Carrick houses. With an increase of ornament the Gothic style brought an increase in the size of the buildings in Ireland. They were not, indeed, as large as those in England.

Accurate as may be our notion of what is meant by the three styles of Gothic, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, it will not suffice to give us a perfect idea of the architecture in Ireland. Because, like every thing sought to be established in Ireland by the English, it had, by yielding to modifications, to pay homage to the soil—to the genius of the land—of its adoption. The Irish ecclesiastical buildings, in some respects, bore a striking resemblance to those on the Continent. One at Muckross retained the round arch. That at Kilconnell looked like one in Italy or Spain. The battlements of Jerpoint reminded one of Italy. The same may be said of many buildings in Galway.† On the whole, however, the ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland are national ornaments. They are proud even in their ruins. There was the beautiful church of Kilkenny on the

\* Bishop Ledred gave the finishing hand to the Cathedral of Kilkenny in 1318. The windows were furnished with pieces in stained glass. The nuncio Rinuccini, in the seventeenth century, offered £500 for it.—Cathedral of St. Canice by Dr. Graves.

† Fergusson's Hand-book of Architecture, vol. ii.

banks of the Nore. So magnificent was the window of St. John's in Kilkenny, that the church was called the lantern of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> There too come up before us the lovely abbey of Dunbrody, and the beautiful priory of Athassel on the Suir. And who would not weep over the abbeys of Mellifont founded by Donogh O'Carroll, the abbey of Jerpoint by Donagh O'Dough, and the abbey of Boyle by M'Dermot of Moylurg. Accustomed to the buildings which, generally of late years, overspread the country—an oblong pile meeting another in the centre at right angles, and a gallery or two thrown up inside—we must not of course be led to think they have been modelled on the ecclesiastical buildings of Ireland during the middle ages. There had been the nave, the lateral aisles, the transepts, the transepts' aisles, the choir, sometimes the choir aisles, the cleristory, or friars' walk, and often Our Lady's Chapel, under one roof.\*

But the moral features of the monastic institutions

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Campbell.

\* The nave of the Church of Armagh was about 93 feet in length, the transepts 123 feet, the choir 58 feet in length, and 33 in breadth.

Christ Church was about 286 feet in length. The nave in length was about 126, in breadth 56 feet. The transepts were 88 feet 6 inches long, and 25 feet broad. The length of the choir was 108 feet.

St. Patrick's Church, including our Lady's Chapel, was 285 feet in length, its nave 132 feet, the choir 96 feet, its transepts 145 feet. The breadth of the centre aisle was 29 feet. Each of the side aisles 13 feet. Breadth of the west aisle of the transept was 14 feet; that of the transept itself was 32 feet

St. Canice's Church from east to west was 213 feet. The transept was 117 feet, 63 feet were the breadth of the nave. The nave was 167 feet in length, north side aisle 107 by 14 feet. The south aisle was of the same dimensions; north transept was 38 by 28 feet. The choir was 73 by 28 feet. Parish Church was 17 by 28 feet. Anchorite's cell 22 by 15. North chapel 48 by 15. Open yard 12 by 15. Ancient chapter house 29 by 15. Our Lady's chapel 28 by 20. Porch 18 by 15.—Graves' Cathedral of Kilkenny.

in the Irish Church are still more interesting than the material. At the dissolution there were in Ireland some 537 religious houses. The regular canons of St. Augustine counted 231 houses; the Augustinian canonesses 36 houses; the order of Premonstre under St. Norbert counted 9; the Knights of Jerusalem, several of them occupying the lands of the Templars, counted 22; the Benedictine monks counted 9; the Benedictine nuns 5 houses; the Cistercian order under Saint Bernard counted 42;<sup>b</sup> the Cistercian nuns counted 2; the Dominicans counted 43; the Franciscans 70;<sup>c</sup> the Capuchins counted 2; Eremites of St. Augustine counted 27; the order of Mary of Mount Carmel counted 25; and the Trinitarians for the redemption of captives numbered 52.<sup>d</sup> The regular canons of St. Augustine claimed some sort of connexion with the Saint. They were introduced into Ireland in the eleventh century. Their mode of life was not as austere, as that of the earlier monastic orders in the Irish Church. The order of St. Congall was so strict, that some seven rather than indulge themselves, died of self-denial.<sup>e</sup> The regular canons, while they devoted themselves to the ecclesiastical functions, were bound by the Evangelical

<sup>b</sup> Of the twenty-six religious, who sat in the Upper Parliament, thirteen were Cistercians; eight were priors of St. Augustine's order. The abbot of Mellifont had the priority.—Hib. Dom. Appendix, Alem. p. 3.

<sup>c</sup> There were at one time, more than one hundred houses, in the three orders of minors. Two of them were foreign, but under the control of Irish.—Hib. Dom. The four mendicant orders were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Eremites of St. Augustine.

<sup>d</sup> On what authority Harris gives only one house to the Trinitarians, I cannot conjecture.—Bergier (Theology. Dict. mot. Trinit.) and Butler (Lives of the Saints for the 8th February,) and others give the number in the text.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. of Monast. et Religi. Orders.—vol. ii. p. 145, Helyot.

cal counsels, and to certain common laws. There were too, canonesses of St. Augustine, who followed the rule said to have been laid down by the Saint. Under the rules of St. Augustine we find the Premonstratenses. They were so called from Premonstre in Picardy. St. Norbert in 1080, at Cologne, and afterwards Bishop of Magdeburg, was the founder. From him the members were called Norbertins. The order was instituted about 1120, and confirmed in 1126 by Honorius II.<sup>f</sup> The members were called, "White Friars" by the English. At first, the rule was very severe, and obliged to several months of rigid fast throughout the year. The chief object of the founder had been to restore discipline which had been relaxed, and the regular exercise of the divine offices, which were either discontinued or gone through with tepidity.

Under the rule of St. Augustine, too, the knights of Jerusalem professed to live. They were called hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem; because their church was dedicated to St. John. Some merchants trading in the Levant from Amalphi in Naples, obtained from the Caliph of the Saracens, permission to establish an hospital for poor sick pilgrims at Jerusalem. To the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they added a fourth—to defend from insult and injury the pilgrims who visited the Holy Land. They were set on foot in the eleventh century; and were also called the knights of Malta. They were a military order of knights; wore a cross with eight points; and obeyed certain rules of the canons of St. Augustine.<sup>g</sup> Of a kindred nature were the knights

<sup>f</sup> Others date the institution of the order at 1134.—See Butler's *Lives of the Saints* for the 6th June.—Helyot. *Hist. of Monastic Orders*.

<sup>g</sup> Helyot. *Hist. of Monas. Ordres*, vol. ii. p. 133.

templars. Some gentlemen, about 1118, took up their dwelling at Jerusalem, near the temple of Solomon. They pledged themselves to defend the pilgrims from the insults of the Saracens. The founders were Hugh and Geoffrey of St. Omer. In a council held in 1128, St. Bernard drew up a code of rules for the order. On account of enormous abuses laid to the charge of the order, it was suppressed in 1311. It was merged in that of the Hospitallers. Both while performing deeds of heroic charity in the sick ward enacted wonders in the tented field.<sup>b</sup> Grandimontenses were so called from Grandimont in Limoges, where St. Stephen's remains were finally deposited. St. Stephen was born in 1044. His followers led a very penitential life. The mode of living was neither according to St. Augustine, nor according to St. Benedict. They abstained from meat, even in sickness; and fasted throughout the year on one meal. The life of the Grandimontenses was chiefly of the contemplative kind.<sup>1</sup>

Trinitarians, or order for the redemption of captives, began in 1198. It was founded by John of Matha, who was born in 1169. The rule was that of the Canons of St. Augustine—the mode of life was very austere. However, in the thirteenth century there had been a relaxation. The members of the order were called Mathurins. Because the first church they got was dedicated to St. Mathurus in France. The Trinitarians engaged to labor for the redemption of captives in Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. They were clad in white; but at the same time wore a red and blue cross pateé on their scapular. They never eat flesh

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Butler, vol. ii. p. 125, xii. vol. ed.—Helyot. Hist. of Monast. Orders.



meat unless on festivals. They always travelled on foot. The Benedictines were called from St. Benedict, who was born in Umbria in 480. To long prayers and meditations was joined manual labor. Afterwards, for the labor was substituted study. The rule enjoined abstinence from meat. Perhaps, no order in the church has been so illustrious by the number of saints, and by the services rendered to religion and humanity, as the Benedictine order. From the tenth century, it branched off into the orders of the Camaldolese, of Vallambrosa, of Fontevrault, of the Gilbertines, of the Sylvestrines, of the Cistercians and of others.<sup>k</sup> The Benedictines reclaimed the most ungrateful soil. They watched long; they slept on a mat; they lived on biscuit, herbs, and water. St. Bridget and her nuns may be ranked with the Benedictines; and are described as going along the streams to procure a repast, which they never touched before evening.<sup>l</sup> Connected with or springing from the Benedictines, were the Cistercians. They were indebted for their name to a valley of Citeaux, a then uninhabited forest of Chalons.

The founder of this order was Robert, born in Molesme in 1018. The object of the order had been the reformation of the Benedictine orders. The members led a life severe in the extreme; abstained from flesh meat, and for the most part, from white meats; and cultivated the most barren ground. The dress of the order was originally of a tawny color; but afterwards,

<sup>k</sup> Helyot. Hist. of Monas. and Religi. Orders.

<sup>l</sup> "Vespere flumineas, quærebant, fontibus herbas,

Antiqui soliti quæis vitam ducere sancti,

Frigida cum crispis sumebant pocula et herbis."

Trias Thaum. p. 593. The dress was a white robe or cassock, and a black cloak or mantle with a black veil.—Alemand, p. 371.

by the successor of Robert was changed into white. The order put itself under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The noble orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, Montreza in Spain, and those of Christ and Avio in Portugal, were subject to, and borrowed rules from, the Cistercian order. A most austere reformation of the order took place in 1614 at La Trappe. The reformer was Bouthillier de Rancé, who had been first an ecclesiastic, and looked up to as an oracle by the clergy of Paris. A branch of the reformed order is at Mount Melleray.<sup>m</sup> The Cistercians too were called Bernardines. Because St. Bernard with his three brothers in 1113 joined the institute.

The Dominicans had for their founder Dominic Gusman, a Spanish noble, born in 1170. They were called Friars Preachers, and were confirmed as an order by Innocent III. in 1225, and also by Honorius III. in the following year. At first, the dress was that of regular canons; but afterwards, a white robe and hood. Outside the convent a black<sup>n</sup> mantle and hood were adopted. The members were called Black Friars from the black hood. Their object was, by good example and preaching, to convert the sinner. There were also Dominican nuns.

The Minors or Franciscans were called after St. Francis. This order was founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was approved of by Innocent III., and confirmed again by Honorius III. in 1223. A special characteristic of the order was to possess no property individually, or in common, and to live on alms.

<sup>m</sup> See Butler, *Lives of Saints* for April 29th, note.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. of Monast. Orders. Bergier (*Theolog. Dic.*) says the contrary. He says that the white hood was used outside the Convent.—See *Theolog. Dict. an mot Dom.*

Following the rule of the Franciscans, were the nuns of St. Clare. The austerity practised by the nuns was such, that in 1253, Urban IV. in condescension to the delicacy of the sex, softened the rigor of the austerity ; and allowed them to possess some property. Some, however, those of St. Damian sought not, nor accepted the relaxation. Hence the poor classes were split into Urbanists and Damianists.<sup>o</sup> Branching from the parent stock, were those of the strict observance called "Discalced." Others of the regular observance were called minors. The Capuchins professed to carry out, to the letter, the rule of St. Francis—they had a distinct general. Others were called Conventuals ; and so were distinguished from those who lived in solitude. Besides, there was a third order called "tertiaries." Married as well as unmarried were associated to it. As much as was compatible with their state, they followed the rule laid down by St. Francis for the minors, and for themselves specially ; and so gained the indulgences of a religious order.

The Carmelites were an order set on foot in honor of the Immaculate Virgin. They claimed descent from Elias of Mount Carmel. So much so, that they denounced the learned Bollandist, who attributed their rule to St. Cyril.<sup>p</sup> Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, Simon Stock is said to have had a vision of the Blessed Virgin, and to have been ordered by her, to get a piece of stuff—one part in front, and another over the shoulders. It was called the scapular. It is only by some mystical interpretation the Carmelites, beyond the mere name, can be connected with the Prophet Elias.<sup>q</sup> There were too, the crouched or crossed friars. Some

<sup>o</sup> Bergier Theolog. Dict.    <sup>p</sup> Helyot. Monast. Orders, vol. i. p. 282.

<sup>q</sup> See Bergier Theolog. Dict. an mot. carm.

endeavour to trace their origin to apostolic times. But it is certain, they did not appear before the middle of the twelfth century. They followed the rule of Saint Augustine. In 1169, Alexander III. took them under his protection. They carried a staff surmounted by a cross.

Then we had the Eremites of St. Augustine: they were founded by Eusebius Bishop in Hungary in 1215; and confirmed by a legate of Clement V. in 1308.

The Gilbertines following the rule of St. Augustine were called after Gilbert of Simpringham in Lincolnshire. The first house was in a chapel dedicated under the invocation, and containing the relics of St. Victor.<sup>r</sup> The order was set on foot in 1148. It was intended for both sexes, as well married as unmarried. The men followed the rule of St. Augustine; the women that of St. Benedict. The houses of both, though under one roof, were separated by high walls. Then too were the Eremites of St. John the Baptist established in Navarre; they lived, up to the time of Gregory XIII., under the direction of the Bishop of Pampeluna. Their mode of life was very austere. They walked barefoot; practised great austerities; and had only the stone for pillow. A large wooden cross by day and by night was suspended on their breast. The austerities which they imposed on themselves were calculated to excite the horror of voluptuaries.

Though several monastic institutions had been suppressed, from time to time, in Ireland for want of funds, or from the annoyance of enemies, or because they merged into other orders, yet at the dissolution of monasteries in the time of Henry VIII., some 537 religious houses remained. Many of them were monu-

<sup>r</sup> See Bergier Theolog. Dic. an mot. Vic.

ments of national pride. And though in many instances, they may have been more useful, yet on the whole they were invaluable. In them parliaments were held. In them were preserved the wise laws and charters of a people's freedom. In them the interesting ceremony of knighthood was sometimes conferred. Here was the "Scriptorium" where the precious manuscripts of the past, and the records of the passing age were written out. There was the hall for the entertainment of the pilgrim, and the stranger. What an influence must not so many establishments have shed on society ! Religious houses owned land to a considerable extent ; but they contributed to the necessities of the state. The lands were let on the easiest terms to the tenants. "That it was easier to live under the crozier, than under the sceptre," was verified in Ireland. The habits of the religious, on the whole, were frugal ; and their life laborious. By their education, by their perseverance, by their habits of industry, they improved the soil ; and made the rose replace the heath, and the swamps. No grinding rent to drive the children of the soil outcasts over the earth were exacted. And such as, by age or infirmity, were unable to help themselves, found relief and comfort at the convent gate. There the portionless maid got a dower ; there the orphan was caressed ; there salt tears were kissed from the cheeks of aged woe. The monastic halls were seminaries for the education of the youth, hospitals for the cure of the sick,\* and treasuries for the relief of the indigent. There is scarcely any of the professions,

\* Even in the fifteenth century, Nicholas Archbishop of Armagh granted an indulgence of fifty days to those, who would relieve those afflicted with the woful disease of leprosy in the house of St. Bridget at Kilbyxey in Meath.—Fleming's Register.

now found so necessary to society, which was not exercised to some extent by the religious. Having consulted for every evil to which flesh is heir, and added vastly to the sum of human happiness, they prepared men for that happiness which never ends.

## APPENDIX A.

### ARMAGH.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Gelasius	...	1137, died	1174	Ware's Harris, Lib. Munerum.
Cornelius M'Concoille	1174,	died	1176	Do.
Gilbert O'Caran,	...	1175, died	1180	Do.
Thomas O'Connor	...	1181, resigned	1184	Do.
Mælisia O'Carroll	...	1184, died	1184	On his way to Rome.
Amlaid O'Murid	...	1184, died	1185	W. H. Lib. M.
Fogarty O'Carrolan	...	1185, ...	...	An. of 4 Masters.
Thos. O'Connor, ( <i>who before resigned</i> )	...	1185, died	1201	W. H. Annals by Connellan.
Eugene M'Gilliveder	1206,	died	1216	Do. An. by J.O'D.
Luke Netterville	...	1220, died	1227	Do.
Donat O'Fidahra	...	1227, died	1237	Do. and Annals Clonmacnois et Kilronan.
James Durse*	...	died	1239	
Albert of Cologne	...	1240, resigned	1247	W. H. Lib. M.
Reiner	...	1247, died	1256	Do.
Abraham O'Connellan	1257,	died	1260	Do. An. 4 Masters
Patrick O'Scanlan	...	1261, died	1270	Do. Belg. Dom.
Nicholas Mælisia	...	1272, died	1303	Do. An. 4 M. says 1299.
F. Reymund was Bishop 1286 <sup>b</sup>				
John Taaffe	...	1305, died	1306	W. H. Lib. M.
Walter D. Jorse*	...	1306, resigned	1311	Do. Hib. D. says 1309.

\* For this, as well as for one or two other Bishops, I have to make my acknowledgments to the Rev. Dr. McCarthy, Maynooth.

<sup>b</sup> Hib. D. p. 462, quoting the Bull from the Bullarium Prædicatorium. This should leave us to think, that his predecessor resigned.

\* F. Martinus succeeded, between the two Jorses Brothers, according to Dominican Annals, quoted by Welsh, p. 45.

Names.	Succeeded	Authorities.
Roland Jorse ...	1311, resigned 1321	W. H. Lib. M.
Stephen Segrave ...	1322, died 1333	Do.
David O'Hiraghty ...	1334, died 1346	Do.
Richard Fitzralph ...	1347, died 1360	Do.
Fergall M'Rainnall was Bishop	1356 <sup>d</sup>	
Milo Sweetman ...	1361, died 1380	Do.
John Colson ...	1382, resigned 1404	Do.
Patrick O'Scanlan	1382, <sup>e</sup>	
Nicholas Flemings <sup>f</sup> ...	1404, died 1416	Do.
John Swayn ...	1417, resigned 1439	Do.
John Prene ...	1439, died 1443	Do.
John Mey ...	1444, died 1456	Do.
John Bole ...	1457, died 1470	Do.
John Foxall ...	1475, died 1476	Do.
Edmund Connesbury	1477, resigned 1479	Do.
Octavian D. Palatio	1480, died 1513	Do.
John Kite ...	1513, resigned 1521	Do.
George Cromer ...	1522, died 1542	Do.

## MEATH.

Eleutherius Omeadagain	died 1174	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
Eugene ...	1174, died 1194	Do.
Simon Rochfort ...	1194, died 1224	Do.
Deodat ...	1224, died 1226	Do. An. F. M.
Ralph Petit ...	1227, died 1230	Do.
Richard D. L. Corner	1232, died 1250	Do.
Hugh D. Taghmon	1250, died 1281	Do.
Thomas St. Leger ...	1287, died 1320	Do.
John O'Carroll ...	1321, resigned 1327	Do.
William De Paul ...	1327, died 1349	Do.
William St. Leger ...	1350, died 1352	Do.
Nicholas Allen ...	1353, died 1366	Do.
Stephen D. Valle ...	1369, died 1379	Do. An. F. M.
William Andrew ...	1380, died 1385	Do.
Alexander Petit ...	1386, died 1400	Do.

<sup>d</sup> Annals Four Masters. This would make his being Coadjutor, or the resignation of his predecessor necessary.

<sup>e</sup> A curious entry in A.B. Usher's MS., classed D. 3. 16, "This Patrick O'Scanlan about this time was the same, as the Patrick Scanlan of 1261."

<sup>f</sup> Dowling says his name was Stephen.



Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Robert Montain ...	1402, died 1412	Ware's Harris, Lib.M.
Edward Dantsey ...	1413, died 1429	Do.
William Hadsor <sup>*</sup> ...	1432, died 1434	Do.
William Silk ...	1434, died 1450	Do.
Edward Ouldhall ...	1450, died 1459	Do.
William Sherwood ...	1460, died 1482	Do.
John Paine ...	1483, died 1506	Do.
William Rokeby ...	1507, translated 1511	Do.
Hugh Inch ...	1512, died 1522	Do.
Richard Wilson ...	1523, died 1529	Do.

## CLOGHER.

Edan O'Kelly ...	... died 1182	Do.
Malisa O'Carroll ...	1182, died 1184	Do.
Christian O'Macturan	1184, died 1191	Do.
Melisa M'Kearan ...	1191, died 1195	Do.
Tigirnath M'Gilla Ronan	1195, died 1218	though the An. F. M. say 1217.
Donat O'Fidabra ...	1218, resigned 1227	Do.
Nehemiah O'Brogan	1227, died 1240	Do.
David (Brother)	1260, died 1267	Do.
Michael M'N. Sair	1268, died 1285	Do. An. F. M. say in 1288.
Matthew M'Clohesy	1287, died 1316	Do.
Cornelius M'Banan	1316, died 1319	Do.
Michael M'Clohesy ...	1320, died 1356	Do. An. Four M.
Bernard M'Camœil	1356, died 1361	Do.
Mathew M'Clohesy	1361, died ...	...
Odo O'Neil ...	... died 1390	Do. though An. F. M. say 1369.
O'Corcoran ...	... died ...	...
Aurthur M'Camoil	1389, died 1432	Annals Four Masters.
Peter M'Guire ...	1432, resigned, or died 1449	Do.
Roger M'Guire ...	1449, died 1483	Ware's Harris, Lib.M.
Edmund Courcey ...	1488, resigned 1494	Do.

\* Ware gives Thomas Scurloy before Hadsor ; but he agrees with Harris, that he was not confirmed, or lived but a short time after institution.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Nehemiah Clonin ..	1502, resigned 1503	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
Patrick O'Connolly	1504, died 1504	Do.
Eugene M'Camoil ...	1508, died 1515	Do.
Patrick Cullin ...	1519, died 1534	Do.

## CLONMACNOIS.

Moriertach Omelider	1187, died 1188	Do.
Tigernach O'Malone <sup>b</sup> ...	died 1172	Do.
Mureath O'Murroshan ...	died 1213	Do. An. F. M.
Hugh Malone ...	died 1219	Annals Four Masters.
Edan O'Mailly ...	died 1220	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
Molroney O'Modein	1220, died 1313	Do.
David Fitzpatrick <sup>c</sup>	1230, died 1252	Annals Four Masters.
Thomas Quin ...	1252, died 1278-'79	Do.
Gilbert ...	1281, resigned 1288	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
William Duffy ...	1290, died 1297	Do.
William O'Findan ...	1298, died 1300	Do.
Donald O'Brien ...	died ..	Do.
Lewis O'Daly ...	died 1337	Annals Four Masters.
Henry ...	died 1367	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
Richard ...	died ...	
Philip ...	died 1338	Do.
Milo Corry ...	1390, died ...	Do.
O'Galchor ...	died 1397	Do.
Peter ...	1398, died 1411	Do.
Philip O'Mæil ...	1411, died 1422	Do.
David O'Brendog ...	1423, died,	
	or resigned 1424	Do.
Cormac M'Coghlan	1427, died 1442	Ware Harris, Lib. M.
John Oldais ...	1444, died	
John ...	died 1486	
Walter Blake ...	1487, died 1508	Do. An. 4 Masters.
Thomas ...	died	
Quintin ...	1516, died 1538	Do.

## DOWN.

Malachy ...	died 1175	Ware Harris
Gelasius M'Cormac ...	1175, died 1175	Do.

<sup>b</sup> His predecessor must have resigned before death.

<sup>c</sup> Some give an Elias, instead of David. Harris thinks, that Elias and David may be one.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Malachy III.	...	1176, died	1201	Ware Harris.
Ralph	...	1202, died	1213	Do.
Thomas	...	1213, sat in	1237	Do.
Ranulph	...	... died	1253	Do.
Reginald	...	1258, resigned	1265	Do.
Thomas Liddell	...	1266, died	1276	Do.
Nicholas	...	1276, died	1304	Do.
Thomas Kittell	...	1305, died	1313	Do.
Thomas Bright	...	1314, died	1327	Do.
Ralph Kilmessan	...	1329, died	1353	Do.
Richard Calf	...	1353, died	1365	Do.
William	...	1365, died	1368	Do.
John Logan	...	1368, died	1368	Do.
Richard Calf II.	...	1369, died	1386	Do.
John Ross	...	1386, died	1396	Do.
John Dongan	...	1395, died	1412	Do.
John Cely	...	1413, deprived	1441	Do.

## CONNOR.

Patrick O'Brannan	...	1152, died	1172	says Harris, or rather retired to Iona 1172-'74, Ware.
Nehemias	...	1172, died	...	
Reginald	...	... sat in	1183	W. H. Lib. M.
Christian O'Kearney	...	... died	1210	Do.
Reginald	...	... died	1225	Reeve's Taxation of Down, p. 256.
Eustachius	...	1225, died	...	
Adam	...	1242, died	1244	W. H. Lib. M.
Isaac of Newcastle	...	1245, died	1257	Do.
William of Port Royal	...	1257, died	1260	Do.
William De Hay	...	1261, died	1263	Do.
Robert of Flanders	...	1264, died	1274	Do.
Peter of Dunath	...	1274, died	1292	Do.
John	...	1293, died	1297	Do.
Richard	...	... sat in	1320	
James of Coupleth	...	1321, died	...	Do.
John of Eglescliffe	...	1322, resigned	1323	Do.
James O'Kearny	...	1324, died	1351	Do.
Wm. Mercier	..	1353, died	1373	Do.
Paul	...	1376, died	...	Do.
John	...	... sat in	1411	Do.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Eugene	... sat in 1427	Do.
Cornelius	... died ...	Do.
John	... 1442, died 1450	Reeves.

## DOWN AND CONNOR.

John, (*under whom were  
united Down and  
Connor*)

...	1442, died 1450-'5	W. H. Lib. M.
Robert Rochford	... 1451, died ...	
Thomas	... 1456, died 1468	
Simon <sup>*</sup>	... 1459, died ...	Hib. D.
Thady <sup>†</sup>	... 1469, died 1486	W. H. Lib. M.
Richard Wolsey	... died about 1502	Do.
Tiberius	... died 1526	Lib. Minorum.
Robert Blyth	... died ...	Harris.

I give a different list from Reeve's taxation of Down.

John	... 1441, died 1450	
Thomas	... 1450, died 1451	
Richard Wolsey	... 1451, Dominican	
Thomas	... 1456, died 1468	
Thady	... 1469, died 1486	
Tiberius ante	... 1495, died 1519	
Robert Blyth ante	... 1526, died 1540	

## KILMORE.

Flan O'Connor	... died 1231	Ware's Harris Liber M.
Congolach M'Neil	... 1231, died 1250	Do. the Four Masters.
Simon O'Ruark	... 1251, died 1286	Do.
Maurice	... 1286, died 1307	Do.
Mathew M'Duibne	... 1307, died 1314	
Patrick	... 1314, died 1328	An. F. M.
Cornelius Ford	... died 1355	An. F. M.
M'Conama	... died ...	Do.
Richard Reily	... died ...	W. H. Liber M.
Thomas Rushok	... 1389, died ...	Do.
John O'Reilly	... died 1393	An. F. M.
Roderick Brady	... 1396, died ...	
Stephen de Straboniza	1409, ...	Wadding W. H.

<sup>\*</sup> Harris thinks, that he and Thomas given by himself, are the same.

<sup>†</sup> Thady swore obedience to the metropolitan laying his hands on his breast, and looking to the Gospels. The ancient way of swearing, was to receive the Holy Communion and touch the Gospels.—Registry of Octavian.

Names.	Succeeded.				Authorities.
Francis Bernard	...	...	...	...	Do. Wadding.
Michael Brady	...	...	died	1421	W. H. Liber M.
Donat	...	1421,	sat	1442	Do.
Andrew M'Brady	..	... <sup>m</sup>	died	1456	Do.
Thady M'Duibne	...	...	died	1464	Annals Four M.
John O'Reilly	...	1464	sat	1470	Do.
Thomas Brady <sup>a</sup>	...	...	sat	1489	
			died	1511	Do.
Dermod	...	1511,	died	1529	Do.

## ARDAGH.

M'Grath O'Moran	...	died	{1168 1161	Harris. Ware.
Christian O'Heoty	...	died	{1172 1179	Harris. Ware.
O'Tirlenan	...	died	1187	W. Harris, Lib. M.
O'Hislenan	...	died	1189	Do.
Adam O'Muredy	...	died	1217	Do.
Robert	...	1217,	died 1224	Do.
Simon M'Grath	...	1224,	died 1230	Do. An. F. M.
Joseph Magoday <sup>o</sup>	...	1230,	died 1231	Do.
Jocelin O'Farmaig	...	1233,	died 1237	Do. An. F. M.
Brendan Magoday	...	1238,	died 1255	Do.
Milo of Dunstable	...	1256,	died 1289	Do. An. F. M.
Mathew O'Heotha	...	1290,	died 1322	Do. An. F. M.
Alexander	...	...		Harris doubts his consecration.
John Mageor	...	1331,	died 1343	Do. An. F. M.
Owen O'Ferrall	...	1347,	died 1367	Do.; but An. F. M. call him Malachy.
William M'Cyoghes	...	1367,	died 1367	Do. An. F. M. call him Cormac.
Charles O'Ferrall	...	1373,	died 1378	Do. An. F. M.
John O'Fraie	...	1378,	died 1394	Do.
Henry Nonny <sup>p</sup>	...	1392,	sat 1392	Hib. D. P. 466.
Gilbert M'Brady	...	1396,	died ...	W. Harris, Lib. M.
Adam Lyns	...	1392,	died 1416	Do. An. F. M.
Cornelius O'Ferrall	...	1418,	died 1424	Do. An. F. M.

<sup>m</sup> In 1454, Bishop M'Brady erected Kilmore into a cathedral. The diocese was called Brefney no longer.—Harris' Bishops.

<sup>a</sup> An. Four Masters say that Cormac M'Causan, Bishop of Kilmore, died 1511.

<sup>o</sup> Probably the same as De Feigan in the Annals under 1230.

<sup>p</sup> The predecessor then must have resigned.

Names.	Succeeded.		Authorities.
Richard Ferrall	... ..	sat 1427 died 1444	An. F. M.
Magsmahradan	... 1445,	died ...	Harris. An. F.M.
Cormac	... ..	sat 1460-70	Ware, H. Lib. M.
B. M'Gauran	... ..	died 1476	Annals Four Masters.
William O'Ferrall	... ..	sat 1486	Do. Harris's Ware says he resigned.
Thomas O'Congolan <sup>a</sup>	... ..	died 1508	Ware's Harris.
Owen	... 1508	sat in 1530	...

## DROMORE.

Gerald	... 1227,	died 1245	W. H. Lib. M.
Andrew	... 1245,	died ...	Do.
Tigernagh	... ..	sat 1287	Do.
Gervase	... 1290,	died ...	Do.
Tigernagh II.	... ..	died 1309	Do.
Florence M'Dongan	1309,	died ...	Do.
Christopher	... ..	sat in 1369	Do.
Cornelius	... ..	died 1381	Do.
John O'Sannal	... 1382,	died ...	Do.
John Volcan	... ..	resigned 1404	Do.
Richard Messing, or Mespín	... 1408,	died 1409	Do.
John	... 1410,	resigned 1418	Do.
Nicholas Warter	... 1419,	died ...	Do.
David of Cherburg	... ..	died 1427	Do.
Thomas Scrope	... 1434,	resigned <i>ante</i> 1440	Do.
Thomas Redcliffe	... 1429,	died ...	Do.
George Bran	... ..	sat 1489 resigned in 1499	Do.
William	... 1500,	died ...	Do.
Galcatius	... ..	died 1504	Do.
John Baptiste	... 1504,	died ...	Do.
Thady	... 1511,	died <i>ante</i> 1536	Do.

## RAPHOE.

Gilbert O'Caran	... ..	sat 1160 resigned 1175	Do.
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<sup>a</sup> Annals by Connellan make him Bishop of Elphin.

Names	Succeeded.		Authorities.
Mælisia O'Dorigh ...	... sat	1203	
	died	...	W. H.
Patrick O'Scanlan ...	resigned	1261	Do.
John De Alneto ...	1261, resigned	1265	Do.
Carbrac O'Scoba <sup>r</sup> ...	1266, died	1275	Do. An. F. M.
Florence O'Ferrall	1275, died	1299	Do. An. F. M.
Thomas Natham ...	1299, died	1306	Do.
Henry M'Crosan ...	1306, died	1319	Do.
Thomas O'Donnell	1319, died	1337	Do.
Patrick M'Gonnail ...	sat in	1360	
	died	1366	Do.
Henry M'Crosan ...	1366, died	...	Do.
John ...	1397, died	1397	Do.
Cornelius M'Cormac <sup>r</sup>	1397, died	1399	Do.
Anthony ...	1399, died	1413	Do.
Robert Mubire ...	1414, died	...	...
John M'Cormic ...	1415, died	...	...
Laurence Galchor <sup>t</sup>	1420, died	1438	Annals Four Masters.
M'Gilbride ...	1438, died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Laurence O'Galchor ...	sat in	1469	
	died	1477	Do.
Menelaus M'Cormacan	1484, died	1515	Do. An. Four M.
Gilbert ...	1515, died	...	...
Felim O'Galchor ...	... died	1543 <sup>u</sup>	Annals Four Masters.

## DERRY.

Flaherty O'Brolcan	1158, died <sup>v</sup>	1175	Ware's Harris, Lib. M
Maurice Coffey ...	... died	1173	Do.
Amlave O'Coffey	1173, died	1185	Do.
Florence O'Cherbalen	1185, died	1230	Do.
Gervase O'Carolan <sup>w</sup>	1230, died	1273	Annals Four Masters.
Florence ...	1279, died	1293	W. H. Annals.
Henry M'Oreghty	1295, died	1297	Do.
Geoffry M'Lathen	1297, died	1315	Do.

<sup>r</sup> Hib. D. makes his accession in 1267, and his death in 1274.

<sup>s</sup> Annals Four Masters make him O'Donnell, and a native of Corcobaiscan.

<sup>t</sup> Ware makes him succeed in 1419.

<sup>u</sup> The Annals of the Four Masters say that he experienced a great deal of opposition about the Bishopric.

<sup>v</sup> He must have resigned before death.

<sup>w</sup> Harris says, that he died in 1279.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Odo O'Neil (secular priest)	1316, died	1319 W. H.
Michael M'Loughlin	1319, sat in	1324
	died	... Do.
Simon	... .. sat in	1367-69
	died	... Do.
John Dongan	... .. resigned	1395 Do.
John	... 1401 died	... Do.
William Quaplod	... .. died	... Do.
Donald	... .. sat	1423 Do.
John	... 1429, died	1456 Do.
Bart. O'Flanagan	... 1458, died	1463 Do.
Nicholas Weston	... 1466, died	1484 Do. An. F. M.
Donald O'Fallon	... 1485, died	1500 Do.
James M'Mahon	... 1509, died	1517 Do.
William Hogeson	... 1520, died	... Hib. D., p. 284.
Roderick O'Donnell...	... .. sat in	1529 ...

## DUBLIN.

Lawrence O'Toole	... 1162, died	1180 Ware H. Lib. M.
John Comyn	... 1182, died	1212 Do. Usher.
Henry Loundres	... 1213, died	1228
Luke	... 1228, died	1255 Do. Clyn and Four M.
Frederick D'Saunford	1256, died	1271 Do.
John Derlington	... 1279, died	1284 Do.
John D'Saundford*	... 1284, died	1294 Do.
William D'Hothum	... 1297, died	1297 Do.
Richard D'Ferrings	... 1299, died	1306 Do.
John Lech	... 1310, died	1318 Do.
Alexander Becknor	... 1317, died	1349 Do.
John D. St. Paul	... 1349, died	1362 Do.
Thomas Minot	... 1363, died	1375 Do.
Robert D. Wikeford	1375, died	1390 Do.
Robert Waldby	... 1391, died	1395 Do.
Richard Northall	... 1396, died	1397 Do.
Thomas Cranley	... 1397, died	1417' Harris.

\* In 1286, according to Clyn and Ware; but in 1285 according to the Annals of Dowling and the Four Masters. The difference arises probably, from the consecration and election being in different years.

† Ware says, that he died in 1419.



Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Richard Talbot	...	1417,	died 1449	W. H. Lib. M.
Michael Tregury	...	1449,	died 1471	Do.
John Wulton	...	1472,	resigned 1484	Do.
Walter Fitzsimons	...	1484,	died 1511	Do.
William Rokeby	...	1511,	died 1521	Do.
Hugh Inge	...	1521,	died 1528	Do.

## KILDARE.

Malachy O'Brien*	...	...	died 1176	W. H. Lib. M.
Nehemiah	...	1177,	died 1195	Do.
Cornelius Magelany	...	1206,	died 1222	Do. Annals Four M.
Ralph of Bristol	...	1223,	died 1232	Do.
John of Taunton	...	1233,	died 1258	Do.
Simon of Kilkenny	...	1258,	died 1272	Do.
Michael Cusack	...	1279,	died 1299	Do.
Walter D. Viele	...	1299,	died 1332	Do.
Richard Hulot	...	1334,	died 1352	Do.
Thomas Giffard	...	1353,	died 1365	Do.
Robert of Askeaton	...	1366,	died 1368	Do.
George	...	...	died 1401	Do.
Henry of Wessenbarch	...	1401,	died ...	Do.
Thomas	...	...	died 1405	Do.
John Maddock	...	...	died 1431	Do.
William	...	1432,	died 1446	Do.
Geoffrey Hereford	...	1449,	died 1464	Do.
Richard Lang	...	1464,	died 1474	Do.
David	...	1474,	died 1474	Do.
James Wall	...	1475,	resigned —	Do.
William Barrett	...	...	resigned ...	Do.
Donald O'Follough	...	...	died 1500	Wadding.
Edmund Lane*	...	1482,	died 1522	W. H. Lib. M.
Thomas Dillon	...	1523,	died 1529	Do.

\* It was usual even in the twelfth century with the Irish Bishops in concluding their letter to express their esteem and love "in Christ." See the letter of Bishop O'Brien whom Eugene O'Curry makes O'Flynn in his materials of Irish History. p. 186.

\* The Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, as well as Staniburst, give a far different list from Harris, of the 23 immediate predecessors of Bishop Lane.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Petrus Stoll, creatus	1529,	Belg. Dom. Hib. D. p. 485.

The following Twenty-three Bishops are given by Staniburst and the Red Book of the Earl of Kildare, as the immediate predecessors of Thomas Dillon, who succeeded in 1523:—

Lonius,	Richard,	Thomas,	Richard,
Ivorius,	John,	Robert,	James,
Conlius,	Simon,	Boniface,	Wall,
Donat,	Nicholas,	Maddock,	Barrett,
David,	Walter,	William,	Edmond Lane,
Magnus,	Richard,	Geoffrey.	the 23rd. in 1518.

### GLENDALOECH.<sup>c</sup>

Gilla M'Neev	...	...	died	...	Harris, Lib. M.
Kined O'Ronan	...	...	sat	1166	
			died	1173	Do.
Malachy	...	...	sat	1179	
			died	...	Do.
Wm. Piro	...	...	sat	1192	
			died	1214	Do.
John	...	...	died	1494	Do.
Ivo Russi	...	1494,	died	1495	Do.
John	...	1495,	died	...	Do.

### OSSORY.

Donald O'Fogarty	...	...	died	1178	W. H. Lib. M.
Felix O'Dullanny	...	1178,	died	1202	Do.
Hugh Rufus	...	1202,	died	1218	Do.
Peter Maunesin	...	1218,	died	1229	Do.
William of Kilkenny	1229,	resigned		1232	Do.
Walter D'Brackall	...	1232,	died	1243	Do.
Geoffrey Turvill	...	1244,	died	1250	Do., Clyn does not give his death.
Hugh Mapleton	...	1251,	died	1256	Do.
Hugh III.	...	1257,	died	1259	Do.
Geoffrey St. Leger <sup>d</sup>	...	1260,	died	1286	Do.
Roger of Wexford	...	1287,	died	1289	Do.
Michael of Exeter	...	1289,	died	1302	Do. Clyn.

<sup>c</sup> One Denis usurped this See for a long time, but touched in conscience, gave it up in 1497. Some think, that a Franciscan was appointed to it in 1501.

<sup>d</sup> 1283, Bishop Leger was styled the second founder of the Kilkenny Church, because he endowed it. He founded the Common Hall.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Wm. FitzJohn*	..	1302, resigned	1317	Do.
Richard Ledred†	...	1316, died	1360	Do.
John of Tatenall	...	1360, died	1370	Do.
Alex. Balscot	...	1371, resigned	1386	Do.
Richard Northalis	...	1386, resigned	1395-6	Ware.
Richard Peverill	...	1397, resigned	1398	Do.
John Griffin	...	1398, died	1399	Do.
John Wultham	...	1399, died	1400	Harris
Roger of Appleby	...	1400, died	1404	W. <a href="#">H.</a> Lib. M.
John Volcan	...	1404, died	1405	Do.
Thomas Snell	...	1405, died	1416	Do.
Patrick Ragged	...	1417, died	1421	Do.
Denis O'Dea	...	1421, died	1427	Do.
Thomas Barry	...	1428, died	1459	Do.
David Hackett	...	1460, died	1478	W. <a href="#">H.</a> Lib. M.
Richdardus Wichelius				
creatus	...	1479, ...	...	Belg. Dom.
Richd. Hinchelsey	...	...	sat 1480	Hib. D. p. 486.
John O'Hedian	...	1479, died	1486	W. <a href="#">H.</a> Lib M.
Oliver Cantwell	...	1488, died	1526	Do.
Milo Baron	...	1527, died	1550	Do.

## LEIGHLIN.

Donat	...	1158, died	1185	W. <a href="#">H.</a> Lib. M.
John	...	1199, died	1201	Do.
Herlewin	...	1201, died	1216	Do.
Richard Fleming	...	1217, died	1226	Do.
William	...	1227, died	1251	Do.
Thomas	...	1252, died	1275	Do.
Nicholas Chevers	...	1277, died	1309	Do.
Maurice of Blankville	...	1309, died	1320	Do.
Miler D'Poer	...	1320, died	1341	Do.
William St. Leger	...	1341, died	1348	Do.
Thomas of Brackenberg	...	1349, died	1360	Do.
John Young	...	1363, died	1384	Do.

\* Ware makes him succeed 1304.

† Clyn makes him succeed in 1318, and consecrated at Avignon by the Pope. See the Red Book of Kilkenny, quoted by the editor of Clyn's Annals, p. [51](#), Appendix.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
John Griffin*	... 1385, resigned 1398	W. H. Lib. M.
Richard Rocomb	... 1399, resigned 1420	Do.
D'Burgo	... 1400, died ...	Do. An. Four M.
John Mulgan	... 1422, died 1431	Do.
Thomas Fleming	... 1432, died 1458	Do.
Milo Roch	... 1458, died 1489	Harris.
Nicholas M'Guire	... 1490, died 1512	Do. Ware.
Thomas Halsay	... ... sat 1515	
	died 1519	Do. Ware.
Maurice Doran	... 1523, died 1525	Do. Annals Four M.
Mathew Saunders	... 1527, died 1549	Do.

## FERNs.

Joseph O'Hethai	... 1155, died 1185	W. H. Lib. M.
Albin O'Molloy	... 1186, died 1222	Do. Annals Four M.
John St. John	... 1223, died 1243	Do.
Geoffrey St. John	... 1242, died 1258	Do.
Hugh D'Sampost	... 1258, died 1282	Do.
Richard D'Northampton	1283, died 1303	Do.
Simon Evesham	... 1304, died 1204	Do.
Robert Walrand	... 1305, died 1311	Do.
Adam D'Northampton	1312, died 1346	Do. Clyn:
Hugh D'Salter	... 1347, deprived 1347	Do.
Geoffrey Groseld	... 1347, died 1348	Do.
John Esmond	... 1349, deprived 1349	Do.
William Charnells	... 1350, died 1362	Do.
Thomas O'Dea	... 1363, died 1400	Do.
Antony de Terranova	... sat 1397	
Patrick Barrett	... 1400, died 1415	Do. Dowling.
Robert Whitty	... 1416, died 1458	Do.
John Purcell	... 1459, died 1479	Do.
Lawrence Nevill	... 1480, died 1503	Do.
Edmond Comerford	1505, died 1509	Do.

\* In 1389 Richard II. wrote to the Irish Deputy, to have the Bishops of Leighlin get Gatrotheston in County Dublin belonging to the B. of Killaloe; as all his own country was plundered, and no place was left to shelter him; and as the Killaloe Bishops lived among the enemy, and did not mind the English laws.  
—Old Rymer

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Nicholas Comerford	1509, resigned 1519	Do.
John Purcell ...	1519, died 1539	Do.

## CASHEL.

Donald O'Hulacan ...	1158, died 1182	W. H. Lib. M.
Maurice ...	1182, died 1191	Do.
Mathew O'Heney ...	1192, died 1206	Do.
Donat O'Lonergan ...	1206, died 1215	Do. Annals F. M.
Donat O'Lonergan III.	1206, resigned 1223	Do.
Marian O'Brien ...	1224, died 1238	Ware says 1236.
David M'Kelly ...	1238, died 1252	Do.
David M'Carwill ...	1253, died 1289	Do.
Stephen O'Brogan ...	1291, died 1302	Do. Annals F. M.
Maurice M'Carwill	1303, died 1316	Do.
William Fitzjohn <sup>b</sup> ...	1317, died 1326	Do.
John O'Carroll ...	1327, died 1329	Do. Clyn.
Walter Rede ...	1330, died 1330	Do.
John O'Grada ...	1332, died 1345	Do. Clyn.
Ralph Kelly ...	1334, died 1361	Do.
George Roche ...	... died 1362	Do.
Thomas Carroll ...	1365, died 1373	Do.
Philip Torrington ...	1374, died 1380	Do.
Peter Hackett ...	1384, died 1406	Do.
Richard O'Hidian ...	1406, died 1440	Do.
William of Ossory <sup>1</sup> ...	sat 1441	
	died ...	Do.
John Cantwell ...	1450, died 1482	Do.
David Creagh ...	1483, died 1503	Do.
Maurice Fitzgerald	1504, died 1523	Do.
Edmund Butler ...	1527, died 1550	Do.

## EMLY.

O'Meiestia ...	... died 1172	W. H. Lib. M.
Charles O'Buchalla	1177 died 1177	Do.

<sup>b</sup> Clyn says he succeeded in 1318.<sup>1</sup> Dowling says 1414, but I suppose it a mistake, by transposition of a figure, for 1441; for otherwise we could not well account for the death of O'Hidian in 1440.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Isaac O'Hamery ...	...	died	...	...
Reginald O'Flanna ...	...	sat	1192	
		died	1197	W. H. Lib. M.
Henry ...	1212,	died	1227	Do.
John Collingham ...	1228,	died	1236	Do.
Christian ...	1238,	died	1250	Annals Four M.
Gilbert O'Doverty ...	1251,	died	1265	...
Florence of Emly ...	1266,	died	1271	...
Matt. O'Gorman ...	1272,	died	1275	...
David O'Casey ...	1275,	died	1281	...
William D'Clifford <sup>k</sup>	1283,	died	1306	Lib. Munerum.
Thomas Cantock ...	1306,	died	1308	W. H. Lib. M.
William Roghened	1309,	died	1335	Do.
Richard D'Walleys				
(Walsh) ...	1335,	died	1355	Do.
John Esmond ...	1356,	died	1362	...
William ...	1363,	sat in	1393	
		died	...	...
John Riskbery ...	...	sat in	1320	...
Nicholas ...	...	died	1422	...
Thomas Burke ...	...	sat in	1443	...
Cornelius O'Cunlis ...	1444,	resigned	1448	...
Cornelius O'Mulledy	1448,	died	...	...
William O'Hedian ...	1459,	sat	1468	...
		died	...	...
Philip ...	...	died	1494	...
Donat O'Brian ...	1498,	died	...	...
Thomas Hurley ...	...	sat after	1532	...

## LIMERICK.

Turgesius ...	...	died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Brictius ...	...	sat	1179	
		died	...	Do.
Donat O'Brien ...	...	sat	1217	
		died	...	Do.
Edmund ...	...	died	1222	Do.
Hubert D'Burgh ...	1222,	died	1250	Do.
Robert of Emly ...	1251,	died	1271	Do.
Gerald de Mareschall	1272,	died	1301	Do.

<sup>k</sup> Harris says he succeeded in 1282.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Robert of Dondovenald	1302, died 1311	Do.
Eustace del Ewe ...	1311, died 1336	...
Maurice Rochfort ...	1337, died 1353	Do. Clyn.
Stephen Lawles ...	1354, died 1359	Do.
Stephen Valle ...	1360, resigned 1369	Do.
PeterCorragh(orCreagh)	1369, resigned 1400	Do.
Cornelius O'Dea ...	1400, resigned 1426	Do.
John Mothel ...	1426, resigned 1458	Do.
William Creagh ...	1459, died 1472	Do.
Thomas Arthur ...	1472, died 1486	Do.
John Dunow ...	1486, died 1488	Do.
John Folan ...	1489, died 1521	Do.
John Coyne <sup>1</sup> ...	1521, sat to 1551	Hib. D.

## ARDFERT.

Donald O'Conarchy	... died 1193	W. H. Lib. M.
David O'Duibdehil	... died 1207	Do.
John	... 1215, deprived 1221	Do.
George of Ardfert	... ..	...
Gilbert	... 1225, resigned 1237	Do.
Brendan	... 1237, resigned 1242	Do.
Allen O'Sullivan	... .. died 1252	Annals Four M.
Christian	... 1252, died 1256	W. H. Lib. M.
Philip	... .. died 1263	Do.
John	... 1264, died 1285	Do.
Nicholas	... 1285, died 1287	...
Nicholas	... 1288, died 1336	Do.
Allen O'Hethera	... 1336, died 1347	Do.
John D'Valle	... 1348, died 1372	Do.
Cornelius O'Tigernagh	1372, died 1379	Do.
William Ball	... 1379, sat 1382	...
	died ...	...
Nicholas Fitzmaurice	... sat 1421-31	...
	died ...	...
Maurice	... .. died 1462	...
John Stack	... 1483, died 1488	...
Philip	... 1488, died 1495	...

<sup>1</sup> Harris makes him succeed in 1522.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
John Fitzgerald	... 1495,	died	...	...
James Fitzmaurice	...	died	1583	Annals Four M.

## WATERFORD.

Fostius	...	...	died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Augustus	...	1175,	sat	1179	
			died	...	Do.
Robert	...	1200,	died	...	Do.
David	...	1204,	died	1209	Do. 1208 An. F. M.
Robert	...	1201,	died	1222	Do.
Wm. Wace	...	1223,	died	...	Do.
Walter	...	1227,	died	...	Do.
Stephen	...	...	sat	1238-46	
			died	...	Do.
Henry	...	1249,	died	...	Do.
Philip	...	1252,	died	...	Do.
Walter II.	...	1255,	died	1272	Do.
Stephend Fulburn	...	1273,	resigned	1286	Do.
Walter Fulburn	...	1286,	died	1307	Do.
Matthew	...	1309,	died	1322 <sup>m</sup>	Do.
Nicholas Welifed]	...	1323, <sup>n</sup>	died	1337	Do.
Richard Francis	...	1338,	died	1348	Do.
Robert Eliot	...	1349,	deprived	1350	Do.
Roger Cradock	...	1350,	resigned	1362	Do.

## LISMORE.

Christian O'Conaachy	...	resigned	cir 1175	W. H. Lib. M.
Felix	...	...	sat 1179	
			died 1206	Do.
Robert of Bedford	...	1218,	died 1222	Do.
Griffin Christopher	...	1223,	died 1246	Do.
Alan O'Sullivan	...	1248,	died 1252 <sup>o</sup>	Do.
Thomas	...	1253,	died 1270	Do.
John Roch	...	1270,	died 1279	Do.
Richard Cor	...	1279,	died 1308	Do.
Wm. de Fleming	...	1309,	died 1321	Do.
John Leynagh	...	1323,	died 1354	Do.
Thomas Le Reve	...	1358,	died 1393	Do.

<sup>m</sup> Liber Munerum says 1323.<sup>n</sup> Clyn says 1322.<sup>o</sup> Clyn and the Four Masters put it to 1253.



## WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

Names.	Succeeded.		Authorities.
Thos. Reve	... 1363, died	1393	W. H. Lib. M.
Robert Read	... 1394, resigned	1396	Do.
Thomas Sparkford	... 1396, died	1397	Do.
John Deping	... 1397, died	1399	Do.
Thomas Snell	... 1399, resigned	1405	Do.
Roger	... 1405, died	1409	Do.
John Geese	... 1409, died	1425	Do.
Richard	... 1426, died	1446	Do.
Robert Poer	... 1446, died	1471	Do.
Richard Martin	... 1472, died	...	Do.
John Bolcomp	... 1475, died	1477	Do.
Nicholas O. Hennessy	1480, died	1482	Harris.
John	... 1482, died	...	Do.
Thomas Purcell	... 1486, died	1517	W. H. Lib. M.
Nicholas Comyn	... 1519, sat	1551	

## CORK.

Gilla Ceda O'Magen...	... died	1172	W. H. Lib. M.
Gregory	... 1172, died	1186	Do.
Reginald	... .. died	...	Do.
O'Silbaig	... .. died	1205	Do.
Geoffry White <sup>p</sup>	... .. died	...	Do.
Marian O'Brian	... .. resigned	1224	Do.
Gilbert	... 1225, died	1238	Do.
Laurence	... .. died	1264	Do.
William	... 1266, died	...	Do.
Reginald	... 1267, died	1276	Do.
Robert M'Donogh <sup>q</sup>	.. 1277, died	1301	Do.
John M'Carwell	... 1302, resigned	1321	Do.
Philip of Slane	... 1321, died	1321	Do.
Walter de Rede	... 1327, died	1330	Do.
John of Balliconingham	1330, died	1347	Do.
John Roch	... 1347, died	1358	Do.
Gerald Barry	... 1359, died	1393	Do.
Roger Ellismere	... 1396, died	1406	Do.

<sup>p</sup> Harris doubts whether he was consecrated.

<sup>q</sup> Smith's History of Cork, p. 65 says, that his name was Richard: he died according to the Four Masters in 1302.

Names.	Succeeded	Authorities.
Gerald	... 1406, died ...	Do.
Patrick Ragged	... ... resigned 1417	Do.
Milo Fitz John <sup>*</sup>	... 1418, died 1430	Do.

## CLOYNE.

Matthew	... ... sat 1171	Ware H., Lib. M.
	died 1192 cir.	
Laurence O'Sullivan	... died 1204	Do.
Daniel	... ... died 1222	Do.
Florence	... 1224, died ...	Do.
Patrick	... 1226, died ...	Do.
David M'Kelly	... ... translated 1237	Do.
Alan O'Sullivan	... 1240, resigned 1248	Do.
Daniel	... 1249, died 1264	Do.
Reginald	... 1265, died 1273	Do.
Alan O'Lonergan	... 1274, died 1284	Do.
Nicholas de Effingham	1284, died 1320	Do.
Maurice O'Solehan	... 1320, died 1334	Do.
John De Cumba	... 1335, died ...	Do.
John Brid	... ... died ...	Do.
John Whittock	... 1351, died 1361	Do.
John de Suafham	... 1363, resigned 1376	Do.
Richard Wye	... 1376, deprived 1394	Do.
Gerald Canton	... 1394, sat 1407	
	died ...	Do.
Adam Pay	... ... sat 1421	
	died 1430	Do.
Jordan	... 1431, died see union	Do.
Petrus Will	... ... sat 1556	Hib. Do.

## ROSS.

Benedict	... ... sat 1172	
	died cir. 1190	W. H. Lib. M.
Maurice	... ... died 1196	Do.
Daniel	... 1197, died ...	Do.
Florence	... ... died 1222	Do.

<sup>\*</sup> Annals of the Four Masters say, that Bishop O'Driscoll died this year, and had been brother to the Lord of Cork. He might then have been Fitz John O'Driscoll.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Robert	...	sat	1225	
		died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Florence	...	resigned	1252	Do.
Maurice	...	1253, died	1269	Do.
Walter O'Mictian	...	1269, died	1274	Do.
Peter O'Holacan	...	1275, died	1290	Do.
Laurence	...	1290, died	1309	Do.
Matthew O'Fin	...	1310, died	1330	Do.
Laurence O'Holdican	1331,	died	1335	Do.
Denis	...	1336, died	1377	Do.
Bernard O'Connor	...	1378, died	...	Do.
Stephen Brown	...	1402, died	...	Do.
Matthew	...	died cir.	1418	Do.
Walter Formay	...	1418, died	1424	Do.
Cornelius M'Elchade	1426,	died	1448	Annals Four Masters.
Thady	...	sat	1488	
		died	...	Ware's Harris, Lib. M.
Hugh	...	1489, died	1494	Do.
Edmund Courcy	...	1494, died	1518	Do.
John Murrily	...	1519, died	1519	Do.
Bonaventure	...	sat	1253	
		died	...	Do.
Dermot M'Domniul	...	sat	1544	

## CORK AND CLOYNE.

Jordan	...	1431, sat	1464	
		died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Gerald Fitz-Richard	...	died	1479	Do.
William Roche	...	1479, resigned	1490	Do.
Thady M'Carthy	...	1490, died	...	Do.
Gerald	...	resigned	1499	Do.
John Fitz-Edmund	...	1499, died	...	Do.
John Bennet (or Ferret)	...	died	1536	Do.

## KILLALOE.

Constantine O'Brien	...	sat	1179	
		died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Dermot O'Coning	...	deprived	...	Do.
Charles O'Heney	...	1195, died	1216	Annals Four Masters.

Names.	Succeeded.	Authorities.
Robert Travers* ...	1216, deprived	1221 W. H. Lib. M.
Donald O'Kennedy	1231, died	1252 Do.
Isaac O'Cormacan ...	1253, resigned	1267 Do.
Matthew O'Hogan ...	1267, died	1281 Do.
Maurice O'Hogan ...	1281, died	1298 Do.
David M'Mahon ...	1299, died	1316 Do.
Thomas O'Cormacan	1316, died	1321 Do.
Benedict O'Coscry ...	1322, died	1325 Do.
David of Emly ...	1326, died	1322 Do.
Thomas O'Hogan ...	1343, died	1354 Do.
Thomas O'Cormacan <sup>b</sup>	1355, died	1387 Do.
Matthew M'Grath ...	... sat	1228
	died	1429 Do.
Eugene O'Falan ...	... died	1430 Do.
Thady M'Grath ...	1430, died	... Do.
Frederick O'Loneragan	... died	... Do.
James O'Gonnellan ...	... sat	1441
	died	... Do.
Terence O'Brien ...	... died	1460 Do.
Thady <sup>a</sup> ...	... sat	1461
	died	... Do.
John M'Grath ...	... died	... Do.
Maurice O'Canasa ...	... died	... Do.
Dermod M'Grath ...	... died <sup>c</sup>	1482 Do.
Terence O'Brien ...	1482, died	1525 Do. An. Four M.
Richard Hogan ...	1525, resigned	1539 Do.

## INISCATHY.

O'Beachan	... ..	died	1188	Mason's Historical Survey, vol. 2.
Charles O'Heney <sup>w</sup>	... ..	died	1193	...

\* Harris and Ware are inclined not to include him.

<sup>b</sup> Annals Four Masters place his death in 1382.

<sup>c</sup> He was the only Englishman who presided over Killaloe (except Mulfield in 1409) up to the Reformation.

<sup>w</sup> Annals of Four Masters say he died in 1483, and was buried in Corcumroe.

<sup>x</sup> John O'Donovan, then, is not quite correct in saying, that O'Beachan was the last Bishop.—See Four Masters, p. 80, note n.

I suppose after O'Heney's death, it was divided between Kerry, Limerick, and Killaloe. Kilrush was attached to it, and Granathua; but owing to some neglect on the part of the Priest, during a plague, Granathua was detached from Kilrush, and attached to Kilmurry.—Mason's Historical Survey.

## TUAM.

Names	Succeeded.		Authorities.
Catholicus O'Duffy	1161, died	1201	H. W. Lib. M.
Felix O'Ruadan ...	1201, resigned	1235	Do
Marian O'Loghnan ...	1235, died	1249	Do.
Florence M'Flia ...	1250, died	1256	Do.
Walter D'Salern ...	1257, died	1268	Do.
Thomas O'Connor ...	1259, died	1279	Do.
Stephen Falburn ...	1286, died	1288	Do.
William Bermingham	1289, died	1311	Do.
Malachy M'Eda ...	1313, died	1348	Do.
Thomas O'Carroll ...	1349, resigned	1365-64	Ware.
John O'Grada <sup>a</sup> ...	1365, died	1371	Do.
Gregory ...	1372, died	1384	Do.
Gregory O'Moghan	1385, deprived	1386	
	died	1392	Annals Four Masters.
William O'Cormocan	1386, resigned	1394	Do.
Maurice O'Kelly ...	1394, died	1407	Harris. An. Four M.
John Babynges <sup>b</sup> ...	1410, resigned	1411	
	died	1427	
Cornelius ...	1441, died	...	...
John Barley ...	1427, sat	1436	
	died	...	...
Bermingham ...	... died	1437	Annals by J. O'D.
Thomas O'Kelly ...	1438, died	1441	W. H. Lib. M.
John D. Burgo ...	1441, died	1450	Do. An. F. M.
Redmond Birmingham	1451, died	1451	Annals F. M.
Donagh O'Murray ...	1458, died	1484	W. H. Lib. M.
William Shion or Joyce <sup>c</sup>	1485, died	1501	Do.
Philip Pinson ...	1503, died	1503	Do.
Maurice D'Portu <sup>d</sup> ...	1506, died	1513	Do.
Thomas O'Mullaly ...	1513, died	1536	...

## ELPHIN.

Flanachan O'Duffy	...	died	1168	W. H. Lib. M.
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<sup>a</sup> I see no room for an O'Lughtnan, Bishop of Tuam, mentioned by Annals of Four Masters and M'Geoghagan, as dying in 1354.

<sup>b</sup> He was called Sir John according to O'Flaherty.

<sup>c</sup> Hib. D. p. 487, makes Petrus Burgundius Bishop 1436. If William and Peter be not the same, the former must have resigned.

<sup>d</sup> See Harris.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Maelisa O'Conactain...	...	died	1174	Doj
Mailcallian	...	died	1186	Four Masters.
Florence Mulrony	...	died	1195	W. H. Lib. M.
Ardgull O'Connor	...	died	1214	Do.
Denis O'Mulkiaran	...	died	1224	Harris.
Allen	...	died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Donah O'Connor <sup>b</sup> cir.	1232,	died	1244	Har. An. F. M.
John O'Hughroin	...	died	1246	An. J. O'D.
Cornelius Rufus	...	died	1246	W. H. Lib. M
Thomas O'Connor	...	resigned	1259	Do.
Milo O'Connor	...	died	1262	Do. An. F. M.
Thos. M'Farrell <sup>c</sup> M'Dermott	...	died	1865	Do.
(Ware 1263.)				
Maurice O'Connor	...	died	1284	Do. An. F. M.
Auliffe O'Tomalty	..	died	...	An. J. O'D.
Gelasius M'Inlianaig...	1285,	died	1296	Do. J. O'D.
Malachy M'Brian	...	died	1302	Do.
Donat O'Flanagan	...	died	1308	Do.
Charles	...	deprived	1310	W. H. Lib. M.
Malachy M'Æda	...	died	1313	Do.
Laurence O'Loughnan	1313,	died	1325	Do.
John Finachty <sup>d</sup>	1326,	died	1354	Do. An F. M.
Gregory	...	resigned	1372	Do.
Thomas Barrett <sup>e</sup>	...	died	1404	Do.
John Ograda	...	died	1417	Do.
Robert Foster	...	died	...	An. F. M.
Maolcullam <sup>f</sup>	...	sat	1432	An. F. M.
William Ohetigan	...	sat	1444	Harris An.
Cornelius O'Mulligan	...	died	1468	An. F. M.
Nicholas O'Flanagan	1458,	resigned	1494	Hib. W. Har.

<sup>b</sup> Annals of F. M. say, that he succeeded in 1231, immediately after O'Mordu, and omit Allen.

<sup>c</sup> Harris makes him M'Farrell; Ware makes him M'Dermott; but I follow Welsh's Ecclesiastical History in making them the same.

<sup>d</sup> Harris makes him Findsa; because in the Irish word Fionfa, he mistook the first "a" for "d," and the contraction f (cht) for s.

<sup>e</sup> Thomas Colby was coadjutor to Thomas Barrett and died 1423.—Todd's MSS. given by Cotton, vol. iv. p. 122.

<sup>f</sup> Many derive this word from Maol, servant of Columba the saint. Others prefer making him servant of the "Calends," as there is a servant of Lent "Maol-corgas," servant of All Hallow "Maolsamna."

Names.	Succeeded.		Authorities.	
Cornelius	...	died	..	Hib. W.
Richard M'Brian	...	died	...	Hib. W.
George Bran	... 1499,	died	...	W. H. Lib. M.
Thomas Connellan	...	died	1508	Annals F. M.
Christopher Fisher	...	died	1511	Harris.
Thomas Welsh	... 151—,	...	...	Antony Wood. Harris.
	was in possession in 1521			Dr. Todd's MS.
John Max <sup>a</sup>	... 15—,	...	...	
Greek Bishop	...	died	1530	An. F. M.

## CLONFERT.

Peter O'Mordeo	...	died	1171	Ware's Harris.
Mælisia M'Award	...	died	1173	Do.
Malcallan	...	died	1187	Do.
Daniel O'Find	...	died	1195	Do.
O'Cormocan	...	died	1202	Annals Four M.
Thomas	...	died	1248	W. H. Lib. M.
Cormac O'Lumlin	...	died	1257	Do. An. Four M.
Thomas O'Kelly	...	died	1263	Do.
John	... 1266,	resigned	1296	W. H. Lib. M.
William O'Duffy	...	died	1297	Annals Four M.
Robert	... 1296,	died	1307	W. H. Lib. M.
Gregory O'Brogy	... 1308,	died	1319	Do.
Robert C. Petit	... 1319,	deprived	1321	Do.
John O. Legue	... 1322,	died	1336	Do.
Thomas O'Kelly	...	sat	1347	
		died	1377	Do.
Maurice O'Kelly	... 1378,	resigned	1394	Do.
David Corri	... 1398,	died	...	Do.
Thomas Kelly	... 1415,	resigned	1438	Do.
John Heyn	... 1438,	died	Cis. 1442	Do.
Thomas d'Burgo	...	died	1446	Do.
John With	...	died	...	Wading.
Cornelius O'Mullady	1447,	resigned	1448	W. H. Lib. M.
Cornelius O'Gunlis	1448,	died	...	Do.
Matthew M'Grath	...	sat	1482	
		died	1507	Do.
David d'Burgo	... 1508,	died	1509	Do.
Denis a Franciscan <sup>b</sup>	1509,	died	...	Do.

<sup>a</sup> A Premonstratensian monk.—Cotton's Fasti.<sup>b</sup> Hib. D., p. 483, says he was a Dominican.

## KILMACDUAGH.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Reigned O'Ruadan ...	...	died	1178	W. Harris.
M'Gilla O'Ruadan ...	...	died	1203	Annals Four M.
O'Kelly ...	...	died	1214	Do.
Torlogh O'Connor ...	...	died	1223	Do.
O'Shaughnessy ...	...	died	1223	Do.
Malmurry O'Connor ...	...	died	1224	Do.
Odo ...	1227	died	...	H. Ware.
Conor O'Murry ...	...	died	1247	Annals Four M.
Gelasius M'Scclaig ...	...	died	1249	H. W.
Maurice Ileyan ...	...	died	1283	W. H. Lib. M.
David Ledaghan ...	1284,	died	1290	Do. An.
Laurence Loughane ...	1290,	died	1306	Do.
Luke ...	...	died	1325	Do.
John ...	1326,	died	...	..
Nicholas ...	1360,	sat	1341	
		died	1377	...
Gregory Ileyan ...	...	died	1399	Welsh, p. 313, Eccl. Hist.
Nicholas Ileyan ...	...	died	1399	
John Icomaid ...	...	died	1401	W. H. Lib. M.
Jongelin ...	1418,	died	...	...
Cornelius ...	...	sat	1493	
		resigned	1502	Do.
Matthew ...	1503,	sat	1523	
		died	..	...

## KILLALA.

Imar O'Ruadan ...	...	died	1177	W. H. Lib. M.
Donat O'Bioda ...	1198,	died	1207	Do.
O'Duffy ...	...	died	1209	An. Four Masters.
O'Kelly <sup>1</sup> ...	...	died	1214	Do.
Cormac O'Torpaid ...	...	died	1226	Harris. Four M.
John or Ongus				
Mælfugaimir ...	...	died	1234	Do.
Gilkelly O'Ruadan ...	...	died	1253	An. Four Masters.
O'Laidig ...	...	died	1275	Harris. An. F. M.
John O'Laidig ...	...	died	1280	Do.
Donat O'Flaherty ...	1281,	died	1305	Do.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Bishop of 'Fiachra Moy,' to distinguish it from Fiachre Ardne—Kilmacduagh.



Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
John Tankard	...	1306,	died ...	Do.
John O'Lahive	...	...	died 1343	Do.
William O'Dowda	...	1347,	died 1350	Do.
Robert	...	1350,	died 1380	Do.
Thomas Lodowis	...	1381,	died 1388	Rymer. Harris.
Thomas Orwill	...	1389,	resigned 1400	W. H. Lib. M.
Thomas	...	1400,	died ...	Do.
Murdagh Cleragh	...	...	died 1403	Harris.
Hanneka	...	1416,	died ...	Do.
Conor O'Connell	...	...	died 1423	Harris.
Tomin	...	...	died 1425	Annals by J. O'D.
Martin	...	...	died 1431	Harris.
Manus O'Dowda	...	...	died 1436	Do.
Conor O'Connell	...	...	died 1461	Do. An. F. M.
Donat O'Conner	...	1461,	died ...	Harris.
O'Higgins	...	...	died 1468	An. Four Masters.
John O'Cashin	...	...	resigned 1490	Do.
Thomas	...	...	sat 1493	
			died 1497	W. H. Lib. M.
Thomas Clarke	...	1498,	resigned 1508	Do.
Malachy O'Cluan	...	1508,	died ...	Do.
Richard Barrett	..	...	sat 1523	
			died ...	Do.

## ACHONRY.

Maelruan O'Ruadan	...	...	died 1170	W. H.
Gelasius O'Ruadan	...	...	died 1214	Do.
Clemens O'Smadaig	...	...	died 1219	Do.
Carus O'Torpy	...	...	died 1226	Do.
Gelisa O'Clery	...	...	died 1230	Do. An. F. M.
Thomas O'Ruadan	...	...	died 1237	Do. Do.
Engus O'Cloman	...	1238	resigned 1250	
			died 1264	in Monastery of Boyle.
Thomas O'Meachan		1257,	died 1265	Do.
Denis O'Mechan	...	1266,	resigned 1285	Do.
Benedict	...	1286,	died ...	W. H. Lib. M.
Henry	...	...	died 1297	Do.
Benedict O'Brogan	...	...	died 1311	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Cotton quoting from Todd's MSS. says, it must be in 1243 or 1258, that he was appointed, as the Pope says in 6th of our Pontificate.

Names.	Succeeded.		Authorities.	
David of Kilkenny ...	1312,	died ...	W. H. Lib M.	
Murchard O'Hara ...	...	died 1344	Do. An. F. M.	
David ...	...	died 1348	Do.	
Michael Hedrain ...	1348,	died 1373	Do.	
William Andrew ...	1374,	translated 1380	Do.	
Simon ...	1381,	Cohon's History, p. 101,	vol. iv.	
O'Hara ...	...	died		
		at Achonry 1396	Annals Four M.	
Thomas M'Donough ...	...	died		
		probably 1398	Do.	
Bryan O'Hara ...	...	died 1409	Do.	
Laurence ...	...	...		
Donatus ...	...	died ...	Do.	
Richard Belmer ...	1424,	died ...	Do.	
Red O'Hara ...	...	died 1435	Annals Four Masters.	
Nicholas Daly ...	1436,	died ...	Do.	
Thadæus ...	...	died ...	Do.	
Blakedon ...	...	died ...	Do.	
Thady ...	...	died 1448	W. H. Lib. M.	
Cornelius ...	1449,	died ...	Do.	
James Blakedon ...	...	translated ...	Do.	
Cornelius ...	...	died 1472	Do.	
Robert Wellys ...	1473,	died ...	Do.	
Bernard ...	...	died 1488 or '89	Do.	
John de Buclamants ...	1489,	died ...	Do.	
Richard ...	...	died 1492	Do.	
Thomas Fort ...	1492,	died ...	Do.	
Eugene Flanagan ...	1508,	died ...	Hib. D., p. 482.	
Cormac ...	...	sat 1523	W. H. Lib. M.	

## KILFENORA.\*

Christian ...	...	died 1265	M'Carthy's MSS., W. H. Lib. M. put his death at 1254.
Maurice (Harris) }	1265,	died 1273	Do.
Henry (says Ware.) }			
Florence O'Tigernagh ...	1273,	died 1281	Do.
Charles ...	1281,	died ...	Do.
Congall O'Loghnan ...	...	died 1300	Do. Annals F. M.

\* At the Synod of Kells, it was subjected to Cashel.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.	
Simon O'Curran	...	...	died 1303	Do.	
Maurice O'Brien	...	1303,	died 1321	Do.	
Richard O'Loughnan	...	1323, <sup>1</sup>	died 1359	Do.	
Patrick	...	...	sat 1394		
			died ...	Do.	
Felim O'Loughlin	...	...	died 1434	Annals Four Masters.	
Denis O'Cahan	...	...	resigned 1491	Do.	
Maurice O'Brien	...	1491,	died 1510	Do. Ware Harris.	
Maurice B. <sup>m</sup>	...	...	sat 1523		
			died ...	Annals.	
John O'Hinalan	...	...	sat 1552		
(Naylon)	...	...	died ...	Harris. Ware.	

## MAYO.

Keile O'Duffy <sup>a</sup>	...	...	died 1209-'10	W. H. Lib. M.	
Gilla-na Nev. O'Ruadan	...	...	died 1213	Annals Four Masters.	
Stephen O'Bravin	...	...	died 1231	W. H. Lib. M.	
William Prendergast	1428,	resigned	1430	Do.	
Nicholas Wogomai	...	1430,	died ...	Do.	
O'Higin	...	...	died 1478	Do.	
Hugh	...	...	died 1493	Do.	
John Bell	...	1493,	died ...	Do.	
Patrick O'Hely	...	1518,	died ...	Do.	

## ENAGHDUNE.

Con. O'Malley	...	...	died 1201	Four Masters.	
Mortough O'Flaherty	...	...	died 1241	Do.	
Thomas O'Malley	...	...	died 1251	cir. Ware Harris.	
Concord <sup>o</sup>	...	1251,	died ...	Do.	

<sup>1</sup> Clyn says it was 1322.<sup>m</sup> Harris and Ware doubt if he be the same as the immediate predecessor—all the Annals say not.<sup>a</sup> Ware says that at his death it was united to Tuam, but Harris and Usher give other successors.<sup>o</sup> Though consecrated, he did not enter this See; for the Archbishop of Tuam claimed it.

Names.	Succeeded.			Authorities.
Gilbert <sup>p</sup>	...	1306,	died 1325	Do.
James O'Kearny	...	1325, translated	1325	Do. Regista Pontif., v. vii., p. 371.
Robert le Petit	...	1325,	died ...	Do.
Thomas O'Malley	...	...	died <sup>q</sup> 1328 <sup>r</sup>	Annals Four Masters.
Thomas O'Donnell	...	...	died 1337	Do.
Matthew	...	...	died 1421	Wadding, tom. vth.
John Camere	...	1421,	died ...	Do.

<sup>p</sup> The Archbishop of Tuam went to France to make complaint against decisions given against him by the Vicar General of the Primate, Taafe, and before that, all the paraphernalia of the Bishop in Clare Convent, were taken away by the Archbishop—Harris.

<sup>q</sup> Annals of Loughee say he died at Avignon; but at Rome he died according to the Four Masters.

<sup>r</sup> Harris thinks he did not die till after 1330; for there is a letter of Edward III. to the Pope, "that Thomas Bishop of Enaghdone was in a sad state owing to a surreptitious union procured by the Bishop of Cork 1322, of it to Tuam—p. 610.

**63** In 1395, Henry is mentioned as suffragan to the Bishop of Exeter.—Cotton's Fasti, vol. iv. p. 54, quoted from register of Oxford. In 1396, the Bishop of Enaghdone was suffragan to Bishop of Oxford, and dedicated two altars in Dorsetshire.—Ibid. In 1438, John Bishop of Enaghdone is named suffragan to Bishop of Exeter.—Register Oxon. In 1450, one Thomas is given.

## APPENDIX B.

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### *Monasteries founded from the Invasion by the English, to the end of the twelfth century.*

IN 1170, was founded at Fermoy, the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or "de Castro Dei."<sup>a</sup> In 1171, was founded at Kilkenny, the abbey of the B. V. M., or "de Valle Dei," by Dermot O'Ryan.<sup>b</sup> In 1172, was founded at Cork, the abbey of Maur, or "de Fonte Vivo," under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Conor M'Carthy, king of Desmond. In the same year were founded, the abbeys of Hore, near Cashel, and of Inchrie, a daughter to the abbey of Maur, by David M'Carville.<sup>c</sup> About 1170, was founded at Carrigalictig (Cork), a Cistercian house, by Conor M'Carthy.<sup>d</sup> In 1172 was founded, the Cistercian abbey of Moycosquin, or "of the clear spring."<sup>e</sup> In 1174, was founded at Kilmainham, a priory of St. John Baptist, for Templars.<sup>f</sup> In 1177, was founded, St. Thomas' house, at Dublin, for canons regular, by Henry II.<sup>g</sup> In 1178, was founded, the monastery "de Rosea Valle," at Monastereven, (Kildare) by Dermot O'Dempsey.<sup>h</sup> In 1179, were founded at Neddram, (Co. Down), a house by John de Courcey, and the abbey of Ashroe, or "de Samario," by Roderick O'Flaherty.<sup>i</sup> In 1180, were founded at Colp (Co. Meath) a house by Henry II., which was made a cell to that in Lanthony in Wales, and the "black abbey" of Iniscoorey, for Benedictines by John de Courcey,<sup>k</sup> the Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint,<sup>l</sup> (Co. Kilkenny) by Donald prince of Ossory, and at Middleton, the abbey de "choro Dei,"<sup>m</sup> In 1182, were founded, the abbey of Holy Cross,<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Liber Munerum.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid.    <sup>d</sup> Archdall.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. Archdall says, it was an alms-house and hospital.

<sup>g</sup> Liber Munerum. It had a seat in Parliament.    <sup>h</sup> Ibid. Archdall.

<sup>i</sup> Alemand, Archdall places the foundation of 'deSamario' in 1178.

<sup>k</sup> This was to atone for the Abbey of Erinagh, or Carrig, which his wars necessitated DeCourcey to pull down.—Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i.

<sup>l</sup> This had a seat in Parliament.    <sup>m</sup> Alemand, Archdall.

<sup>n</sup> Because the lands of 'Holy Cross' were held of an Earldom, its Abbot was called an Earl, and was, generally, the superior of the Cistercian order.

by Donald O'Brien, and the abbey of Dunbrody, by Hervy de Montmorrisco.<sup>o</sup> In 1184, were founded, a Benedictine abbey, at Kilcommon, Tipperary, by Philip of Worcester, and at Inislaught, (Tipperary) the abbey "de Surio," by Donald O'Brien, and another house at Ardfinan.<sup>p</sup> In 1188, was founded, near Dublin, a priory of St. John Baptist, by Alured de Palmer.<sup>q</sup> In 1190, were founded at Kells, Kilkenny, a priory for Augustinians,<sup>r</sup> by Geoffrey FitzRobert, and the abbey of Knockmoy, or de "colle Victorice,"<sup>s</sup> Co. Galway, by Charles O'Connor, and a house for regular canons, at Inchicronan, (Co. Clare), by Donald O'Brien.<sup>t</sup> In 1192, were founded, in Dublin, a nunnery for Augustinian canonesses, "Grace Dieu," afterwards translated by Archbishop Comyns, and a leper house at Kilbickey, West Meath.<sup>u</sup> In 1189, was founded, the abbey of Woney, Co. Limerick, by Theobald Butler.<sup>v</sup> In 1188, was founded, a Cistercian house at Abbeyfeale, a cell to that at Nenay.<sup>w</sup> In 1193 was founded, the gray abbey or "de Jugo Dei," Co. Down, by Africa, wife of de Courcey and daughter to the King of Mann.<sup>x</sup> In 1194, was founded a house, at Hilfathim, Co. Donegal, by O'Doherty.<sup>y</sup> In 1195, were founded at Nodder, near Tara, a house for regular canons, at Tarmon Fechin (Louth) a nunnery under the invocation of the B. V. M., by M'Mahon, and confirmed if not founded was a house at Clonard (Meath) by Malachy, King of Meath.<sup>z</sup> In 1194, was founded at Corcomroe, the abbey "de petra

<sup>o</sup> Alem. Archdall.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Archdall puts the foundation of this house to 1193, but it may be said, that DeLacy and the king made donations to it about that time.

<sup>s</sup> Some put the foundation of Knockmoy to 1189, and trace the origin of the word, not to a victory gained by O'Connor, but to a woman named 'Muaidh.'—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by J. O'Donovan. In 1240, the Abbot of Knockmoy, because he allowed his head to be washed by a woman, narrowly escaped deposition. At the same time, a slight penance was imposed on him, for six days, on two of which he was to fast on bread and water. Besides, during forty days, he was interdicted the Abbot's stall. A solemn caution was given, that no person in Holy orders, should be guilty of a like transgression.—Martene, Tom. iv. col. 1347. In the first years of the fifteenth century, inside the Church was found a monumental slab. The inscription for a long time puzzled antiquarians. At last, it was deciphered by the late Eugene O'Curry "Pray for the souls of Malachy and his wife Finola. Manus Murtough, Murtough."—*Transactions of R. I. Academy*, vol. i.

<sup>t</sup> Alemand, Archdall.

<sup>u</sup> Alemand, and Archdall, who puts however, the foundation of the Dublin Nunnery to 1190.

<sup>v</sup> Alemand. This had a seat in Parliament.

<sup>w</sup> Liber Munerum, Archdall.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.

fertili," by Donald O'Brien.<sup>a</sup> In 1195, was founded, the abbey of Clare or Kilmory, or "de Forgio," under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul, by Donal O'Brien.<sup>b</sup> In 1198, was founded, the abbey of Killshane, (Co. Limerick), a cell to Corcumroe.<sup>c</sup> In 1199, was founded, the abbey of Comerer or Comber, Co. Down, by the Whites.<sup>d</sup> In 1200, charters were granted to Tristernagh Co. West Meath, founded a few years before, by Geoffrey Constantine, to the priory of Athassel,<sup>e</sup> (Co. Tipperary), founded by William de Barry, to the priory of John Baptist, near Nenagh, founded by Theobald Butler, to the nunnery of Timolinbeg, (Co. Kildare), founded by Robert FitzRichard, to the nunnery of Graney, in Carlow (not in Kildare) by Walter de Riddlesford, to the house of Kilcrenenta, (Co. Galway), or "de casta sylva," founded by Charles O'Connor, to the abbey of little Tintern, (Wexford),<sup>f</sup> or "de voto" by the Earl of Pembroke, to the house at Kilbeggan, (W. Meath), or "de flumine Dei" a Cistercian house, founded by the D'altons, to the abbey of Kilcoul, or "de arvi campo," founded by Donat O'Brien, to the priory of Aroasian canons at Rathkeale, founded by one Harvy, to the abbey of Glangrah, or "vale of charity," a sister to Clairvaux. In the twelfth century too, were founded at Trim, the abbey of the B. V. M., and the priory of Clonard dedicated to St. Peter, by the Lacys; the abbey of Nenaw, by Joceline Nangle, the priory of Inisnaganana, Co. Clare, by Donald O'Brien, the preceptory of St. John (Wexford), by the Earl of Pembroke, a preceptory of Kilmainham, by Walter de Lacy, a house for Templars, at Kilsaran (Louth) by Maud de Lacy, the preceptory of St. John Baptist at Down, by Hugh de Lacy, a preceptory at Waterford, another at Kilbarry, and another at Killure, Co. Waterford; a house for Templars in West Meath, as well as religious houses at Ballymore Lendy, and at Clary, for Gilbertines. In this time also, were founded the priory of St. John Baptist, near Kells, by Walter de Lacy, the priory of St. John Baptist at Kilkenny, by the Tirrells, the priory of St. Leonard, near Dundalk, by Bertram de Verdun, the priory of St. John Baptist, at Down, by John de Courcey, the priory of Saint John Evangelist, near Waterford, by John, Earl of Moreton, the priory of St. John near Cork by the same individual, the nunnery of Killeigh (King's Co.), by the Warrens; the preceptory of St. Congall for

<sup>a</sup> It must have been in 1194, and not in 1200, as others think. Because it had a cell at Killshane, County Limerick, which was founded so early as 1198.—*Liber Munerum*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>e</sup> This had a seat in Parliament.

<sup>f</sup> This had a seat in Parliament.

Templars, at Clontarf by Henry II., and the Priory of Canons regular at Carrick.<sup>a</sup>

*Monasteries founded in the thirteenth century.*

In the thirteenth century, were founded, preceptories of Hospitallers, in the Co. of Kildare, by Maurice Fitzgerald, one at Killbegs, another at Kiltoul, and a third at Tulty.<sup>b</sup> In Kilrush, Co. Kildare, was founded a house for regular canons.<sup>1</sup> At Timolinbeg, was founded a nunnery of St. Mary's by Richard, Lord of Norwich.<sup>k</sup> At Castledermot was founded, a house for crouched friars, by Walter Riddlesford.<sup>1</sup> At Castledermot was founded a house for Franciscans, very probably by the Hynes.<sup>m</sup> At Rosspoint was founded a house for Franciscans, by Sir John Devereux.<sup>n</sup> At Wexford, was founded a Franciscan house by Fitzgerald.<sup>o</sup> At Leighlin was founded a Carmelite convent, by Carew.<sup>p</sup> At Killeigh, King's Co., was founded, a Franciscan house by O'Connor.<sup>q</sup> In Queen's Co. was founded a Franciscan house by O'More.<sup>r</sup> At Trim was founded a Franciscan house.<sup>s</sup> At Beaubec, Co. Meath, was founded a Benedictine house by De Lacy. At Kilmainham was founded a preceptory of Knights of Saint John, by the Prestons.<sup>u</sup> At Kilmichael, West Meath, was founded, a Franciscan house of the third order, by the Petits.<sup>v</sup> At Derg, Longford, was founded a house for Augustinian canons by Gormhall O'Quin.<sup>w</sup> At Drogheda, was founded a house for Augustinian hermits.<sup>x</sup> At Dundalk, was founded, a house for Franciscans, by Verdun.<sup>y</sup> At Kilsaran, was founded, (Co. Louth), a house for Templars, by Maud de Lacy.<sup>z</sup> At Ardminise, Co. Down, was founded a Franciscan house.<sup>a</sup> At Holywood, Co. Down, was founded a house, for the third order of

<sup>a</sup> Harris, Liber Munerum.

<sup>b</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>1</sup> Alem. Ware gives no date.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>m</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum, makes the founder a Richard Tirrell, perhaps it was a different house.

<sup>n</sup> Liber Munerum Alem.

<sup>o</sup> Liber Munerum, Ware and Alemand. The last, however, does not deem the opinion of Wadding improbable, which places its foundation in 1462. But at this date, there was question of reformation, rather than foundation.

<sup>p</sup> Ware, Alem.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. Liber Munerum

<sup>u</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>v</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum suspects it was a house for Templars.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. <sup>x</sup> Ware, Alem. <sup>y</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. <sup>z</sup> Ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Ware, Alem.



Franciscans, by Annesley.<sup>b</sup> At Woodborn, Co. Antrim, was founded a house, for Præmonstratenses.<sup>c</sup> At Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal, as well as at Bellogham, and Ballymacsweeny, were founded houses by the O'Donnells.<sup>d</sup> At Crook, Co. Waterford, was founded a prectory.<sup>e</sup> Near Cork, was founded a house, for Augustinian hermits.<sup>f</sup> At Ballindrohid, was founded a house, for the canons of St. Victor, by Alexander FitzHugh.<sup>g</sup> At Adare, according to Ware, but at Athassel, between Tipperary and Limerick, according to Alemand, was founded a house, for Trinitarians, by Clangibbons.<sup>h</sup> At Tipperary, was founded a house, for Augustinian hermits.<sup>i</sup> At Kilcoul, Co. Tipperary, was founded a monastery.<sup>k</sup> At Teach-Temple, Co. Sligo, was founded a house, for Templars.<sup>l</sup> In Meath, was founded, the priory "de laude Dei," in honor of the Holy Trinity, by Jordan Comyn.<sup>m</sup> At Carrick-on-Suir, was founded a priory of St. John Baptist, by William de Cantus, and his wife Dionisia.<sup>n</sup> At Kellaghre, Co. Kerry, was founded, a priory in honor of the B. V. M., by Geoffrey de Mariscis.<sup>o</sup> At Rathboy, Kerry, was founded the priory of SS. Peter and Paul, for Aroasian canons, by a friar named William.<sup>p</sup> At Aughrim, was founded a priory of St. Catherine, by Theobald Walter.<sup>q</sup> At Kilergry, Co. Kildare, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist, for Templars, by Gilbert de Boissel.<sup>r</sup> At Morne or Ballynemona, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist.<sup>s</sup> At Any, Limerick, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist, by Geoffrey D'Marisco.<sup>t</sup> At Clonone, Tipperary, was founded a house, for Templars.<sup>u</sup> At Kinalakin, Co. Galway, was founded a preceptory of St. John Baptist,

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. <sup>c</sup> Ware, Liber Munerum. <sup>d</sup> Ware, Alem.

<sup>e</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum

<sup>f</sup> Ware, Alem. who, to some extent, inclines to Lublin who places its foundation at 1473. But this date, I imagine, refers only to the reformation.

<sup>g</sup> Liber Munerum Ware, Alem. who in endeavouring to make out Ware to be wrong, in reference to the foundation, only makes himself inconsistent.

<sup>h</sup> Liber Munerum Alem. says, it was the only house of the order in Ireland. But there are very strong reasons for differing from him, as I shall show by and by.

<sup>i</sup> Ware, Alem.

<sup>k</sup> Monasticon Anglic. Ware. Alem. puts it to the twelfth century.

<sup>l</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. <sup>m</sup> Liber Munerum. <sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. It had a seat in Parliament.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. It too, had a seat in Parliament. Those, who sat in Parliament, wore parliamentary robes. They were, however discontinued, from Edward IV. to Henry VII. but afterwards, were binding, under forfeiture of £5.—Selden, ch. vi. part ii. p. 840.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.

by the O'Flaherties.\* At Enaghdune, was founded an abbey in honor of the B. V. M.<sup>†</sup> At Tuam, was founded an abbey of the Holy Trinity, by the Burkes.<sup>‡</sup> Near Athy, was founded an abbey of St. John Baptist, by Richard de St. Michael.<sup>§</sup> Near Drogheda, was founded a priory of St. Laurence, by the Mayor and townsmen.<sup>||</sup> The priory of Teach Eon, Roscommon, was founded by King John.<sup>¶</sup> At Kilclogan, was founded a preceptory of St. John, for Templars.<sup>‡</sup> At Clane, Kildare, was founded a Franciscan house, by Gerald Fitzmaurice.<sup>¶</sup> At Limerick, was founded a Franciscan house, by D'Burgo.<sup>¶</sup> At Tornomona, Roscommon, was founded a Franciscan house, by Felim O'Connor.<sup>¶</sup> At Dungarvan, was founded a house, for Augustinian hermits, by the Earl of Desmond.<sup>¶</sup> At Cork, was founded a house, for Augustinian hermits, by De Courcy, Baron of Kinsale.<sup>¶</sup> At Tipperary, was founded a house, for Augustinian hermits.<sup>¶</sup> At Limerick, was founded a house, for Augustinians, by O'Brian.<sup>¶</sup> At Enniscorthy, Wexford, was founded a house, for Regular canons, by Gerald Prendergast.<sup>¶</sup> In 1202, at Conal, on the Liffey, were founded St. Mary's, a house for regular canons of St. Augustine, by Miles FitzHenry; and at Ocymild or Drymild, Co. Antrim, a priory for Richard, monk of Glastonbury, by De Burgo, under the invocation of the B. V. M.<sup>¶</sup> In 1205, were founded the priory of Saint Wulstan, at Kildare, for Canons regular, by Adam, or Richard De Hereford; and in Woney, Limerick, a house for Cistercians, by Theobald Fitzwalter.<sup>¶</sup> In 1206, was founded at Drogheda, the priory of St. Mary, by Ursus de Samnel, which afterwards came into the hands of Cross-bearers, or Crouched Friars, and of Augustinian canons.<sup>¶</sup> In 1207, were founded near

\* Ibid.    † Liber Munerum.    ‡ Ibid.    § Ibid.    || Ibid.

¶ Ibid.    ¶ Ibid.    ¶ Ibid.    ¶ Ibid.    ¶ Ibid.    ¶ Ibid.

¶ Archdall. This house might have been the same with one mentioned "by Liber Munerum" and Ware, were it not for the difference of founder. Archdall mentions Simon Minor as the founder. According to Ware, the Prior had the first voice in the election of Mayor. An inquisition taken under Henry VIII. speaks of the privilege of St. Mary's and St. Edward's confessor. Archdall contends, that the privilege belonged to Augustine *Hermits* and not to the Canons. The Canons yielded to the Hermits in 1739-'40, and thus ended a chancery suit of 50 years' standing.—*Brudine. M'Gregor's and Fitzgerald's History of Limerick*, p. 568.

¶ Archdall, Ware, Alem. Clyn, Liber Munerum.    ¶ Archdall,

¶ Ware, and Alem. Liber Munerum and Archdall. The last two, however, place the foundation of the first in 1202; With regard to the latter house, Archdall calls it, Abington, so does the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. It had a seat in Parliament.

¶ Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

Athirdee, Louth, the priory of Cross-bearers, under St. John Baptist, by Richard Pipard; and at Dousk, Co. Kilkenny, a house for Cistercians, by the Earl of Pembroke, to which was added, by and by, the abbey "of the vale of God."<sup>o</sup> In 1210, were founded at Inistock, Kilkenny, a house for Augustinian canons, by the Marshall of Leinster; and at Lerha or Granard, Co. Longford, the abbey of the B. V. M., by Richard Tuite, for Cistercians;<sup>p</sup> and at Waterford, a house of St. Victor, by Elias Fitznonnen. It should rather be said, that the latter was merely endowed, because it had been founded by Ostmen. In 1211, was founded at Kilkenny, the priory of St. John Evangelist, for regular canons of St. Augustine, by the Earl of Pembroke.<sup>q</sup> In 1212, was founded at Graignemanagh, Kilkenny, a house for Cistercians, by William Mareschall.<sup>r</sup> In 1215, was founded at Loughkee, Co. Roscommon, a house of the Præmonstratenses, by M'Mallin.<sup>s</sup> In 1216, was founded at Ballintober, Mayo, a house for Augustinian canons, by O'Connor Crowdearg, King of Ireland.<sup>t</sup> In 1218, was founded at Londonderry, a Cistercian house, by Leenogh O'Neil.<sup>u</sup> In the same year, were likewise founded, at Moycassin, Derry, a Cistercian house; and at Ardes, Co. Down, a Benedictine house, by Hugh de Lacy; and at Fourre, West Meath, a Benedictine nunnery, by Walter D'Lacy, though first, it was intended for regular canons; and at the same place was founded a house for Gilbertines, of the Præmonstre order, under the same roof as the preceding, but a distinct house.<sup>v</sup> In 1219, was founded, at Salmon leap, near Dublin, a convent for regular canons, by Waris de Pech.<sup>w</sup> In 1220, was founded, at Steyne, Dublin, a house for canons regular, by Archbishop Loundres. In 1224, were founded, at Cloyne, a Franciscan house, and at Clare Island, Mayo, the abbey of B. V. M., a cell

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. They say the latter was in Kilkenny; Alemand says that it was the "Vale of God" in Cork, and that it was founded in 1204, note, p. 7. The Cistercian convent, however, had a seat in Parliament

<sup>p</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. Besides these, Archdall for the former. —Ware and Alem. date Inistock at 1206; but Liber Munerum refers it to 1218.

<sup>q</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum Archdall. Alem. refers it to 1220, and quotes Monasticon Anglicanum; Ware.

<sup>r</sup> Archdall.

<sup>s</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Liber Munerum, Alem.

<sup>v</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum, Archdall. The Charter mentions John DeCourcy, as the founder of the house at Down. At all events, he was a benefactor. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Archbishop of Armagh got it, by paying £200.—Ware, Alem.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. Archdall says, it was an hospital.

to Knockmoy; and at Tracton, a Cistercian house by M'Carthy.\* In the same year, too, were founded, at Dublin, a Dominican convent, got from the Cistercians; and at Drogheda, a Dominican house.<sup>7</sup> In 1225, was founded, at Kilkenny, a Dominican convent, by the Earl Marshal, junior.<sup>2</sup> In 1226, was founded, at Waterford, a Dominican convent.<sup>3</sup> In 1227, were founded, at Glanworth, Co. Cork, a Dominican convent; at Molingar, W. Meath, a house for Augustinian Canons, by Ralph le Petit, Bishop; at Limerick, a Dominican house, by Corbrae O'Brien.<sup>4</sup> In 1229, was founded, at Cork, a Dominican house, by the Barrys.<sup>5</sup> In 1231, was founded, near Cork, a Franciscan house, by M'Carthy.<sup>6</sup> In 1232, were founded, at Kilmore, Roscommon, a house for regular canons, by Con. O'Flanagan; at Carrickfergus, a Franciscan house, by Hugh de Lacy; at Kilkenny, a Franciscan house, by Richard Mareschall.<sup>6</sup> In 1233, was founded at Atmoy, Co. Sligo, the abbey of Holy Trinity, for Præmonstre, by Clairus Mailin.<sup>7</sup> In 1236, were founded, at Multifernam, W. Meath, a Franciscan house, by William Delamere; at Carrigbeg, Waterford, a Franciscan house; near Dublin, a Franciscan house, by Henry III.<sup>8</sup> In 1237, were founded, at Youghall, a Franciscan convent;<sup>9</sup> at Molingar, a Dominican house, by the Nugents; at Ballybeg, Co. Cork, the priory of St. Thomas—at least, it was endowed.<sup>1</sup> In 1240, were founded, at Ennis, a Franciscan convent, by Donat O'Brien; at Down

\* Annals of the Four Masters, Liber Munerum, Ware, Alem. Archdall.

<sup>7</sup> Hib. Dominicana, Ware, Alem. The latter could take charge of Cathedral Churches. The former was got from the Cistercians, on condition of receiving a candle, every Christmas for the black abbey.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. But Liber Munerum refers it to 1235.

<sup>3</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum, Archdall.

<sup>6</sup> Hib. Dom. Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum, Archdall.

<sup>6</sup> Wadding, Alem. However, Ware, and Liber Munerum put it to the year 1240. Wadding says, that no Franciscan house was established in Ireland, before the year 1232.—Annals of the Minors, ii vols. ed. of xix vols.

<sup>8</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum, Archdall. Kilkenny was founded in 1240 according to Ware; in 1233, according to Wadding, Alem. The last author mentions, that a benefactress to Kilkenny, Elizabeth Palmer, was married several times, and died a maid at the age of 70.

<sup>9</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>1</sup> Ware, Archdall. Wadding says Multifarnam was reformed in 1460; and that the Dublin house was not founded till the year 1271.

<sup>2</sup> Wadding. In 1231, according to Ware, Liber Munerum; but in 1224 according to Archdall.

<sup>3</sup> Hib. Dom. Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

a Franciscan house; at Clonroad, a Franciscan house.<sup>k</sup> In 1240, were founded a Franciscan house, by Hugh Purcell; at Drogheda, a Franciscan house; at Athlone, a Franciscan house, by the Digbys, or Dillons;<sup>l</sup> and at Lismullen, E. Meath, a house for Augustinian nuns, by Richard Corner and Avicia. In 1241, was founded, at Athenry, a Dominican convent.<sup>m</sup> In 1233, were founded, at Cashel, a Dominican convent, by David M'Kelly; at Tralee, a Dominican house, by Fitzgerald.<sup>n</sup> In 1244, were founded, at Newtown, Co. Down, a Dominican convent; at Coleraine, a Dominican house likewise.<sup>o</sup> In 1249, was founded, at Lough-Oughter, a house of Præmonstre, by Clarus O'Maillin.<sup>p</sup> In 1250, was founded, at Nenagh, a Franciscan house, by Henry III.<sup>q</sup> In 1251, was founded an Augustinian house, by the Bishop of Ossory, Hugh Stapleton.<sup>r</sup> In 1252, were founded, at Sligo, a Dominican house, by Maurice Fitzgerald; at Athleathan, Mayo, a Dominican house.<sup>s</sup> In 1253, were founded, at Athy, a Dominican house, by the Fagans; at Roscommon, a Dominican house, by Felim O'Connor; at Kilras, a house for Præmonstre, by Clairus O'Maillin, which was a cell to that of the Holy Trinity; at Ardfert, a Franciscan house.<sup>t</sup> In 1259, was founded, at Dublin, a house for Augustinian friars, by Talbot.<sup>u</sup> In 1260, was founded, at Kildare, a Franciscan house, by De Vescey.<sup>v</sup> In 1261, was founded, at Armagh, a Franciscan house.<sup>w</sup> In 1263, were founded, at Trim, a Dominican house, by O'Genevil; at Armagh (1264?) a Franciscan house, by Scanlan, Archbishop of Armagh.<sup>x</sup> In 1264, was founded, at Arklo, a Dominican house, by Theobald Butler.<sup>y</sup> In 1267, was founded, at Rossbercan

<sup>k</sup> Liber Munerum, Wadding, Alem.

<sup>l</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. Annals of the Four Masters. Wadding says that the Waterford house was reformed in 1521. He also thinks that the house at Athlone was founded in 1242.

<sup>m</sup> Hib. Dom. Alem. Liber Munerum, Archdall.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. However, Ware, Harris, Alem. put it to the year 1274.

<sup>p</sup> Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>q</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum makes the founder a Butler. Wadding puts it to 1291.

<sup>r</sup> Alem. However, Ware puts it to the year 1478.

<sup>s</sup> Hib. Dom. Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. Archdall says that the house at Athy was founded by the Boissels.

<sup>u</sup> Alem. Ware, Archdall.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid.

<sup>w</sup> Archdall.

<sup>x</sup> Hib. Dom. Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. Wadding dates the foundation of the Armagh Convent at 1291, and adds that it was reformed in 1518, that in it friars were whipt in 1565, merely for being found there.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. Alemand, however, fears there is an error in the matter.

not Wexford) a Dominican house, by the Graces and Welshes.<sup>a</sup> In 1268, were founded, at Youghall, a Dominican house; at Wileschen, Dublin, a house for Suc Friars, or friars "de pœnitentia," J. C.<sup>a</sup> In 1269, were founded, at Roscommon, a Franciscan house; at Clonmel, a Franciscan house, founded by Desmond; and at Lurrow a Dominican house.<sup>b</sup> In 1272, was founded, at Cashel, a Cistercian house, by the Archbishop, M'Cawell, who turned out the Benedictines.<sup>c</sup> In 1274, were founded, at Rafran (Co Mayo) a Dominican house, by Mac Jordan; at Derry, a Dominican house, by O'Donnell; at Dublin, a house for mendicant Friars of Mary of Carmel, by Robert Bagot.<sup>d</sup> In 1273, was founded, at Buttevant, Cork, or at least was endowed, a priory.<sup>e</sup> In 1281, was founded, in Armagh county, at Stradballoyse, a Franciscan house.<sup>f</sup> In 1286, was founded, near Trim, at Newtown, a house for Augustinian canons, by Rochford, Bishop.<sup>g</sup> In 1287, was founded, on the Liffey, a Franciscan house, by Fitzmaurice.<sup>h</sup> In 1290, were founded, at Kildare, a Carmelite convent, by William de Vescey; at Clare, Galway, a Franciscan house, by John de Cogan.<sup>i</sup> In 1293, was founded, near King's island, Limerick, a Franciscan house.<sup>k</sup> In 1291, was founded, at Ballyclare, Galway, a Franciscan house; at Kilmellock, a Dominican house.<sup>l</sup> In 1295, was founded, at Dungarvan, a house for Augustinian friars, by Thomas, Lord of Offaly: It was endowed by M'Gretly, and patronized by O'Brien of Crummeragh.<sup>m</sup> In 1296, was founded, near Galway, in the island of St. Stephen, a Franciscan house, by D'Burgo.<sup>n</sup> In 1300, were founded at Ballymacwilliam Roe, Co. Carlow, a house for Knights Templars; at Cavan, a Dominican house, by O'Reilly; at Loughrea, a house for White Friars, by D'Burgo; at Thurles, a house for Franciscans, by Butler, and another for White Friars; and at Cavan, a Franciscan house, by Red O'Reilly.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ibid and Archdall.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Archdall adds, that the Suc Friars were condemned in 1311 in a council at Vienne.

<sup>c</sup> Archdall. According to Wadding, the Clonmel house was founded by Desmond, according to Ware, by Grandison, and according to the Liber Munerum, by Sir John Hackett. Alem. tells us that the Butlers had a seat in the choir

<sup>d</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. <sup>g</sup> Archdall.

<sup>h</sup> Ware, Alem.

<sup>i</sup> Alem. quoting Ware. But the latter says only, that he was buried there.

<sup>j</sup> Ware, Alem. Archdall.

<sup>k</sup> Archdall.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. Dom. Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. Alemund adds, that the Cavan house was reformed in 1502; and

*Monasteries founded in the Fourteenth Century.*

In the fourteenth century were founded the priory of the B. V. M., "de viridi rupe," by Griffith Condon;<sup>p</sup> at Maylagh, Tipperary, a nunnery of St. Bridget, by the Butlers;<sup>q</sup> at Knockmore, Co. Sligo, a Dominican convent, by O'Gara;<sup>r</sup> at Any, Co. Limerick, an Augustinian house for hermits, by John Fitz-Robert;<sup>s</sup> at little Horton, Co. Wexford, a friary under the patronage of B. V. M., by Furlong;<sup>t</sup> at Kinsale, a Carmelite friary, by Robert Fitz-Richard Balrain;<sup>u</sup> at Ballingall? Ballingarry, Co. Limerick, a Carmelite house, by the Roches;<sup>v</sup> at Crevebane, Co. Galway, a Carmelite house, by the Earl of Clanricarde;<sup>w</sup> at Kilcloghan, Co. Wexford, a house for hospitallers;<sup>x</sup> at Killergy, Leighlin, a house for hospitallers;<sup>y</sup> near Drogheda, a house for Carmelites, under the invocation of the B.V.M.;<sup>z</sup> at Quin, a Franciscan house.<sup>a</sup> In 1302, were founded a Franciscan house at Buttevant, Co. Cork, by the Barrys; at Castle Dermot, Co. Kildare, a house for Conventual Franciscans, by the Lord of Offaly.<sup>b</sup> In 1303, was founded, at Carlingford, a Dominican convent.<sup>c</sup> In 1306, was founded, at Carrick M'Griffin, Co. Waterford, a Franciscan house, by the Earl of Ormond.<sup>d</sup> In 1307, was founded, at Castle-Lyons, Co. Cork, a Franciscan house, by John Barry.<sup>e</sup> In 1308, was founded the monastery of O'Gormagan, or "de via nova," under the invocation of the B. V. M. by O'Gormagan.<sup>f</sup> In 1306, was founded, at Fethard, Tipperary, a house for Augustinian hermits, by Walter Mulcot.<sup>g</sup> In 1314, was founded, at Tully Felim, or Tullagh, Carlow, a house for Augustinian hermits, by Lini, Lombard, and H. Talon.<sup>h</sup> In 1315, was founded, at Adare, a house for Dominicans, by John Fitz-Thomas.<sup>i</sup> In 1317, was founded, at Athboy, E. Meath, a Carmelite friary, by William Loundres.<sup>k</sup> In 1320, was

that Eugene Digby brought ruin on himself and the house, by his fearless preaching with closed eyes during the reign of Elizabeth.

<sup>p</sup> Liber Munerum. <sup>q</sup> Ibid. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. <sup>s</sup> Hib. Dom.

<sup>t</sup> Liber Munerum. <sup>u</sup> Ibid. <sup>v</sup> Hib. Dom. says it was a Dominican house.

<sup>w</sup> Liber Munerum. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. <sup>y</sup> Ibid. <sup>z</sup> Ware, Alem.

<sup>a</sup> Alem. Wadding. Many of the Franciscan houses were reformed. And because the foundation has often been confounded with the reformation, authors in speaking of a house often differ by whole centuries.

<sup>b</sup> Wadding, Archdall. <sup>c</sup> Hib. Dom. Liber Munerum.

<sup>d</sup> Liber Munerum, Archdall, Clyn.

<sup>e</sup> Liber Munerum, Ware, Alem. Hib. Dom. and Archdall make it a Dominican house.

<sup>f</sup> Harris, Liber Munerum.

<sup>g</sup> Ware, Alem. But Liber Munerum says it was a house for Dominicans.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. <sup>i</sup> Liber Munerum. <sup>k</sup> Liber Munerum, Ware, Alem.

founded, at Ross, Co. Wexford, a house for Augustinian hermits;<sup>1</sup> at Bantry, a Franciscan house, by O'Sullivan.<sup>m</sup> In 1325, were founded at Kilmalekin, Co. Galway, a Franciscan convent; at Totmoy, King's Co., or Offaly, a conventual Franciscan house, by Birmingham, Earl of Louth.<sup>n</sup> In 1337, was founded at Carrick-on-Suir, a Franciscan convent, by the Earl of Ormond.<sup>o</sup> In 1341, was founded at Skrine, Meath, a house for Eremites of St. Augustine, by Sir Francis Feiho.<sup>p</sup> In 1342, was founded at Skrine, a chantry, by the same. In 1337, was founded at Ballinrobe, Mayo, a house for Augustinian hermits.<sup>q</sup> In 1340, was founded at Muckruss, Kerry, a house for Franciscans, by M'Carthy.<sup>r</sup> In 1347, was founded at Cloncurry, Kildare, a Carmelite friary, by John Roche.<sup>s</sup> In 1350, was founded at Limerick, a house for Grey friars, by Marina, wife to Earl of Desmond.<sup>t</sup> In 1351, was founded at Rosserly, Co. Galway, a house for Minors.<sup>u</sup> In 1356, were founded at Knocktopher, Kilkenny, a house for Carmelite friars, by the Earl of Ormond;<sup>v</sup> near Naas, a Dominican house, by Eustace; at Ballinahinch, Galway, a house for Carmelites, by the O'Flahertys; at Athenry too, Carmelites, by the same.<sup>w</sup> In 1364, was founded at Adare, a house for Minors, by Thomas of Kildare.<sup>x</sup> In 1363, at Glascorrig, Co. Wexford, a house for Benedictines, by Griffin Condon, and his wife Cecilia Barry.<sup>y</sup> In 1358, were founded at Clonshanville, Roscommon, a Dominican house, by M'Dermott Roe; at Clomin, Co. Wexford, an Augustine house.<sup>z</sup> In 1389, was founded at Askeaton, a house, for Franciscans, by James, Earl of Desmond.<sup>a</sup> In 1390, were founded at Mortol, Queen's Co., a Franciscan house; at Falleg, Galway, a Franciscan house, by one Falleg;<sup>b</sup> at Timoleague, Co. Cork, a Franciscan house, by M'Carthy or Barry.<sup>c</sup> In 1389, was founded at Ardfer, a house for Franciscan conventual, by one Raymund.<sup>d</sup> In 1393, was founded at Killeigh,

<sup>1</sup> Ware, Alemand.<sup>m</sup> Ware, Alem. Annals of the Four Masters.<sup>n</sup> Liber Munerum, Annals of the Four Masters.<sup>o</sup> Annals of the Four Masters.<sup>p</sup> Archdall.<sup>q</sup> Ware, Alem.<sup>r</sup> Annals of the Four Masters. Some portion of the building bear marks of an earlier date, so that we are to infer, that the building was completed at the date in the text.—Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i.<sup>s</sup> Liber Munerum, Archdall.<sup>t</sup> Archdall.<sup>u</sup> Annals.<sup>v</sup> Liber Munerum, Archdall, Ware, Alem.<sup>w</sup> Ibid.<sup>x</sup> Ware. They were observants.<sup>y</sup> Archdall.<sup>z</sup> Ware thinks it was given afterwards to the Dominicans.<sup>a</sup> Liber Munerum.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Wadding says the founder was M'Carthy, Ware says he was a Barry.<sup>d</sup> Ware, Alem.



King's Co., a house for Franciscans, by O'Connor Feily.\* In 1400, were founded at Kilconnell, Co. Galway, a house for Franciscans, by William Kelly; and before 1400, at Aghavoe, Queen's Co., a house for Dominicans by FitzPatrick.<sup>f</sup>

*Religious houses founded in the fifteenth century.*

In 1412, were founded a house at Barriscorra, Mayo;<sup>g</sup> at Thacneling, Leitrim, a Franciscan house, by William O'Reilly, afterwards given to the strict observants.<sup>h</sup> In 1420, at Askeaton, was founded a house for conventual Franciscans, by the Earl of Desmond.<sup>i</sup> In 1423, was founded at Benada, Co. Roscommon, an Augustinian house.<sup>k</sup> In 1425, was founded at Dunmore, Co. Galway, a house for Augustinian hermits, by Birmingham.<sup>l</sup> In 1426, at Portumna, was founded a house for Dominicans, by O'Madden.<sup>m</sup> In 1427, at Ardnary, Co. Sligo, were founded a house for Augustinian hermits; at Tombeola, Co. Galway, a house for Dominicans, by the O'Flahertys; at Ballindum, a house for Dominicans, by the M'Donnoughs.<sup>n</sup> In 1428, was founded at Killinbonaina, Co. Galway, a house for Franciscans.<sup>o</sup> In 1431, was founded at Ross Erailly, Co. Galway, a house for Franciscans.<sup>p</sup> In 1433, was founded at Quin, Co. Clare, a house for strict observants.<sup>q</sup> In 1435, was founded at Clonkeen and at Kerril, (County Galway), a Franciscan house of the third order, by Thomas Kelly, Bishop.<sup>r</sup> In 1441 were founded, Temple Maile, Conlenevernage, Kiltullagh, Beagh, for the third order of St. Francis.<sup>s</sup> In 1450, at Elphin were founded, a house for Franciscans by Bishop O'Dea; at Ballimaeduan, Co. Cork, a friary or nunnery.<sup>t</sup> In 1454, were founded at Kilmarmick, King's Co., a house for Carmelites, by O'Mulloy; at Inistormer, Co. Mayo, a friary of the Holy Trinity, by Thady O'Dowd.<sup>u</sup>

\* Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>f</sup> Liber Munerum, Annals of the Four Masters. Hib. Dom.

<sup>g</sup> It was given by John XXII. to Augustinian, Liber Munerum.

<sup>h</sup> Archdall. <sup>i</sup> Archdall, Ware. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. <sup>l</sup> Ibid. <sup>m</sup> Hib. Dom.

<sup>n</sup> Hib. Dom. says it was in Roscommon, Archdall says it was in Sligo.

<sup>o</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Liber Munerum says it was the first in Ireland of the strict observance.

<sup>r</sup> Liber Munerum, Archdall, Ware, Alem. The last says that for the third order were founded, 'Conlenevernage' Beagh, Temple Ma'ley, and Kiltullagh.

<sup>s</sup> Liber Munerum.

<sup>t</sup> Archdall.

<sup>u</sup> Liber Munerum, Alem.

In 1440, at Irrialough, (Kerry), a house for conventual Franciscans, by Donald Thady M'Carthy.<sup>v</sup> In 1448 were founded, Tuilsk (Roscommon) a house for preachers, by O'Connor and O'Donnell; at Orlare, (Mayo), a Dominican house by Nangle.<sup>w</sup> In 1460, were founded at Bantry, a Franciscan house by Dermot O'Sullivan; at Naas, a house for strict observants by the Eustaces; at Enniscorthy, a house for minors observant by Donald Cavenagh; at Inissherkan (Cork) a house for Franciscans by O'Driscoll; at Moyne, (Co. Mayo) a Franciscan house by O'Donoghoe or Bourke.<sup>x</sup> In 1462 was founded at Monaghan, a Franciscan house by M'Mahon.<sup>y</sup> In 1465 was founded at Kilcree, (Cork) a house for Franciscans, by Cormac M'Carthy.<sup>z</sup> In 1464, were founded at Adare, a Franciscan house by the Earl of Kildare; at Athenry another such house by the same.<sup>a</sup> In 1465 at Glenarm, (Co. Antrim) a house for Franciscans.<sup>b</sup> In 1471 were founded at Callan, Kilkenny, a Franciscan house by James Butler.<sup>c</sup> In 1473 was founded at Donegal, a Franciscan house for observants, by Hugh O'Donnell.<sup>d</sup> In 1478 was founded at Lislachtin, Kerry, a house for Franciscans by John O'Connor.<sup>e</sup> In 1484 was founded at Naas, a house for Augustinian hermits.<sup>f</sup> In 1485 was founded at Arran the greater, a house for Franciscans.<sup>g</sup> In 1486, was founded near Kilcullen bridge, County Kildare, a house for Observantines by Roland Portlester.<sup>h</sup> In 1488 was founded in Galway, a Dominican nunnery.<sup>i</sup> In 1489 was founded at Ballinasagard (Tyrone) a house for Franciscans, by Con. O'Neil.<sup>k</sup> In 1490 was founded at Roscrea, a house for Franciscans, by O'Carroll and Bibiana O'Dempsey, his wife.<sup>l</sup> In 1498 were founded at Dun-

<sup>v</sup> Archdall, *Liber Munerum*, Ware, Alem. Wadding puts it to 1449.

<sup>w</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Hib. Dom. puts it to 1434.

<sup>x</sup> Ware, Alem. *Annals of the Four Masters*, *Liber Munerum*, Archdall, Wadding puts the foundation of Inissherkan to 1307.

<sup>y</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>z</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>a</sup> Archdall. I am not quite certain that Archdall is correct as to the founder.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* • *Liber Munerum*, Ware, Alem. & *Ibid.* Archdall puts it to 1474.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* Wadding puts it to 1477.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* *Liber Munerum* is mistaken in putting it to 1434.

<sup>e</sup> *Liber Munerum*, Archdall.

<sup>f</sup> Ware, *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>g</sup> Archdall, Hib. Dom. who says in reference to it, that a decision from Rome was got in connexion with the Wardenship, that a person appointed by the people and clergy should enjoy Episcopal privileges, but could not consecrate; and that he was liable to a visitation from the Archbishop of Tuam.

<sup>h</sup> *Liber Munerum*.

<sup>i</sup> Archdall, *Liber Munerum*.

garvan, a house for Augustinian hermits, by the Earl of Desmond; at Clonmichan, Co. Sligo, a house for Dominicans by O'Donoghoe.<sup>m</sup> In 1486 was founded at Borrishool (Mayo), a Dominican house by D'Burgo.<sup>n</sup> In 1487, was founded at Callan, a house for Augustinian hermits, by Butler.<sup>o</sup> In 1497, was founded at Carrickfergus a house for Observantines.<sup>p</sup> In 1498, was founded at Rosscrelly, Galway, a house for Franciscans by Granard.<sup>q</sup> In the fifteenth century, were founded at Killanalla or Killargo, Tipperary, a house for Franciscans; <sup>r</sup> at Gaula, Fermanagh, a Dominican house; <sup>s</sup> at Dungarvan a house for Franciscans of the third order, by Con. O'Neil; at Clonraheen, Roscommon, a house for Franciscans by Conor Roe; at Teagh Saxon, near Athenry, a house for the same; at Clochin, and Clantualig, Co. Galway, a house for the same by O'Madden; at Carock, Gewagh, Kerin, Poble and Omev, all in Tyrone; and at Magharabeg, Donegal, were founded religious houses.<sup>t</sup>

*For the houses founded in the early part of the sixteenth century, see chapter XV.*

<sup>m</sup> Hib. Dom.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ware. Herrera says there were two convents at Callan.

<sup>p</sup> Ware Wadding. <sup>q</sup> Liber Munerum, Ware, Archdall puts it to 1488.

<sup>r</sup> Ware, Alem. Liber Munerum.

<sup>s</sup> Hib. Dom. (p. 125.) says that Oliver Plunkett gave a decision in reference to it—that the Dominicans and Franciscans could quest where neither had a house, and wherever they had a house, though it may have been taken from them.

<sup>t</sup> Liber Munerum, Ware, Alem.

THE END.





